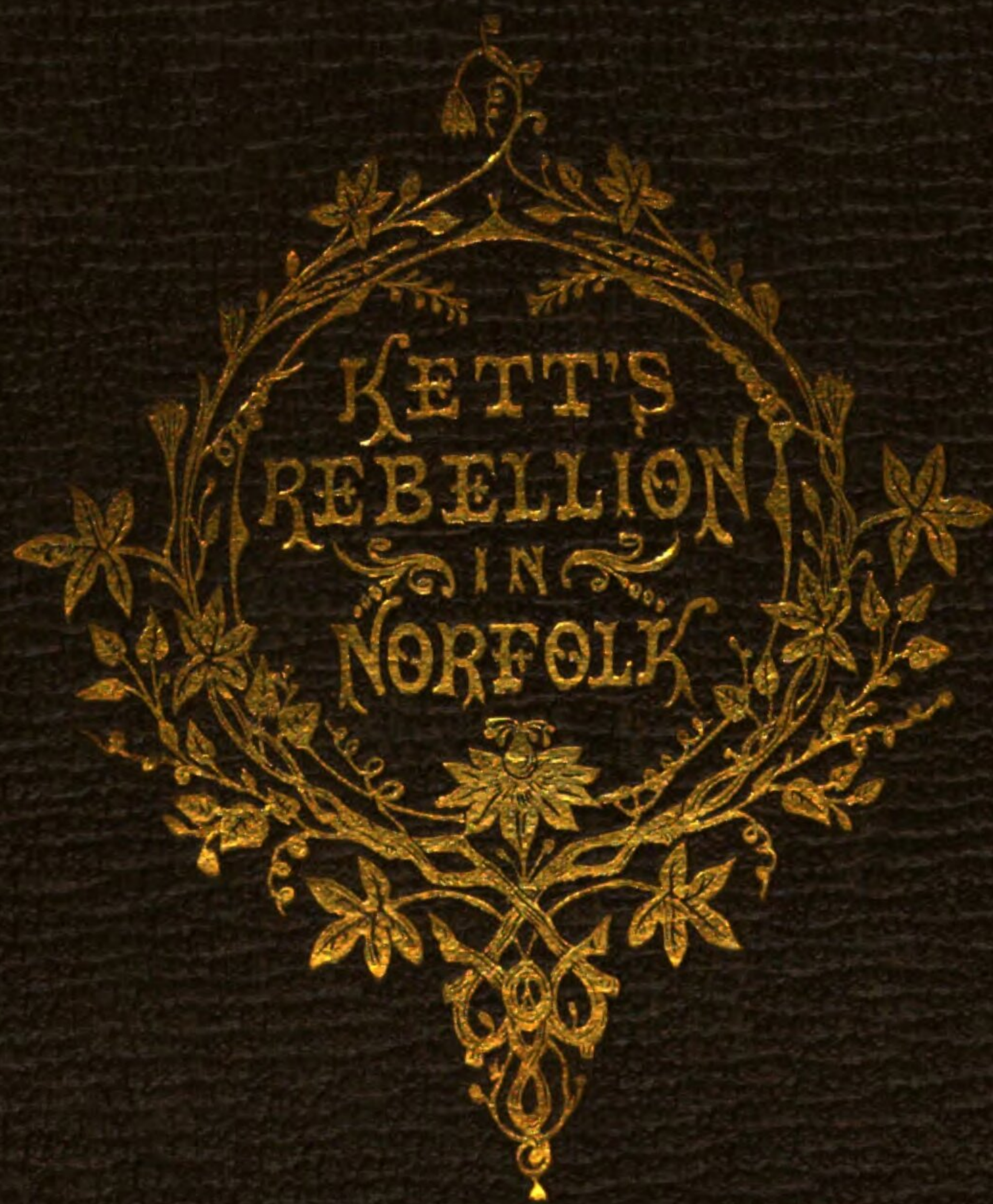




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Russell

KETT'S
REBELLION IN NORFOLK.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.



KETT UNDER THE OAK.

Assuming Regal authority.

Photographed from an old Engraving.

THE REBELLION IN NORFOLK :

BRING A

REPORT OF THE GREAT CIVIL COMMOTION THAT OCCURRED AT THE TIME
OF THE REFORMATION, IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

EDITED BY

THE "REBELLION IN NORFOLK, 1549" BY NICHOLAS SOTHERTON.

AND

THE "DE FURORIBUS NORFOLCIENSIVM" OF NEVILL.

AND

ILLUSTRATED BY EXTRACTS FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL REGISTER; DOCUMENTS PRESERVED
IN THE STATE PAPER AND OTHER RECORD OFFICES; THE HARLEIAN AND
OTHER MSS.; AND CORPORATION, TOWN, AND CHURCH RECORDS.

BY

THE REV. FREDERICK WILLIAM RUSSELL, M.A. F.S.A. F.R.A.S.

AND LATE FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM.

With Illustrations.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMANS & ROBERTS, PATERNOSTER ROW,
AND WILLIAM PENNY, 51, FISHERMAN FIELD.

1889.



KETT UNDER THE OAK

Assuming legal authority

Photographed from an old Engraving

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PRINTED BY
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LONDON.
1859.

TO
SIR JOHN PETER BOILEAU, BART.

F.R.S. V.P.S.A.

And President of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society,

THIS WORK,

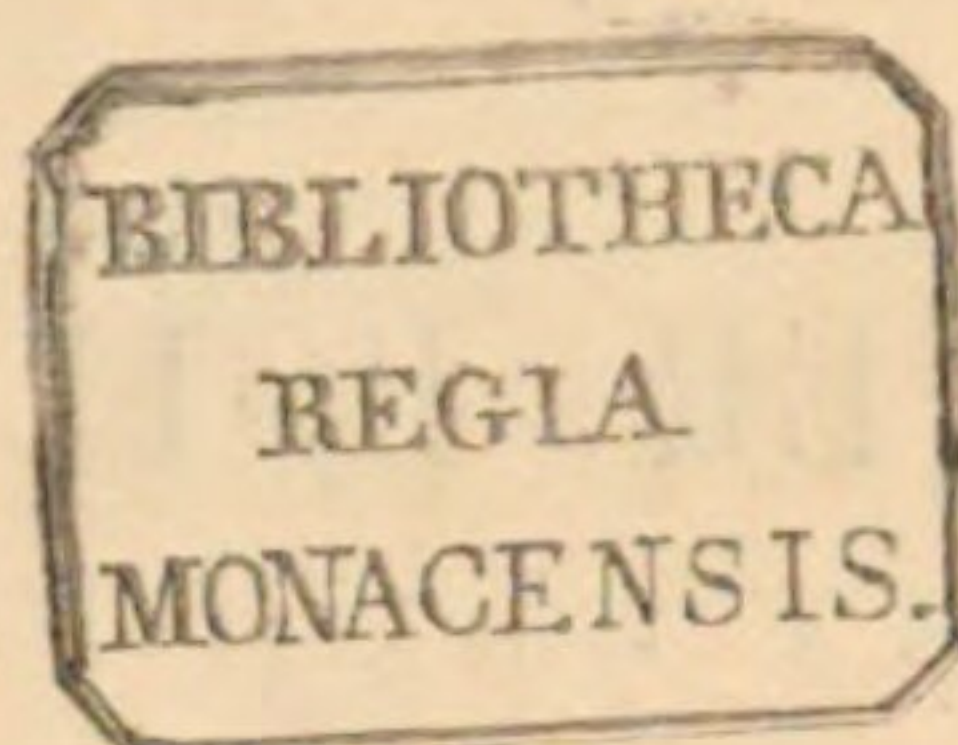
IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF MUCH VALUED ASSISTANCE, AND KIND ENCOURAGEMENT,
RECEIVED DURING THE PROGRESS OF IT,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS OBLIGED

AND HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.

IN sending forth this "History of Kett's Rebellion" to the public, I am anxious to state briefly the object I had in view in preparing it for the press, and my reason for undertaking the task.

In the first place, then, I may confess to my readers, that the old ruin, overlooking Norwich, called to this day KETT'S CASTLE, now covered with ivy, has from childhood been to me an object of the deepest interest, and eagerly did I, in years gone by, collect all the information I could glean tending to throw any light upon the REBELLION, with which, in name at least, it was so closely connected; and here I might mention the especial events on which my youthful imagination loved to dwell, of which the Castle was the scene, and Kett the hero: but, omitting this, I have no hesitation in stating that, as time rolled on, these feelings gained strength, and the more I searched into such records of these transactions as were accessible, the more interesting did the information become to me, until at last I formed the project of preparing a work upon the subject, to consist chiefly of a translation (the agreement of the various histories extant pointing to it as their common origin) of Nevylle's "*De Furoribus Norfolciensium*."

Very fortunately, however, when this was nearly completed, I obtained access to the various documents preserved at the State Paper Office, the Rolls House and Rolls Chapel, the Privy Council

Office, the Norwich Records, the almost boundless stores of the British Museum, and to other reliable sources of information. I then resolved to undertake a work,—a labour of love to me,—in which it should be my endeavour to collect and arrange as full and detailed a narrative as could be compiled, of the events of that stirring period in our English history, in which Kett and his followers played a by no means unimportant part.

Though retaining the word “Rebellion,” my impression soon was that Kett’s great misfortune had been to live before his time; that his efforts and those of his truest followers had been directed, not so much against the State, as against the feudal system, with its manifold extortions; that their conviction was, while the lower classes owed a duty to the higher, the latter owed a duty also to them; and though there was Scripture authority for rulers, good or evil, to exact obedience,—an authority of which “the powers that were” readily availed themselves,—yet the sturdy common sense of these Norfolk people refused to accept any such interpretation of Scripture, as warranted the few in oppressing the many, as sanctioned man’s holding his fellow-men in slavery, and gave up “man and his sequels” (all he was and all he had) to the arbitrary will of any lord or ruler upon earth! And feeling this, I was anxious, as far as lay in my power, to set forth this Rising in its true light, and to show, though Kett is commonly considered a rebel, yet the cause he advocated was so just, that one cannot but feel he deserved a better name and better fate.

These, then, were my reasons for compiling this book, to which I have devoted such leisure as my professional engagements have afforded me during the past nine years; and I would humbly trust that my efforts to elucidate a very interesting portion of our history may not prove altogether in vain. I am aware that my work may, at first sight, seem to be acceptable only to the antiquarian and the historian; but I venture to hope that something may be found in its pages attractive even to the general reader.

In conclusion, I would beg to tender my heartfelt and grateful thanks to the many kind friends who have so readily afforded me assistance, and especially to Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., the Revs. John Thomas, D.C.L., Jos. Grisdale and Alexander Braddell; the late Dawson Turner, F.S.A.; Goddard Johnson, Henry Harrod, F.S.A., W. T. Elliott, G. A. Carthew, F.S.A., Daniel Gurney, F.S.A., C. H. Cooper, F.S.A., William Peckover, F.S.A., Charles J. Palmer, F.S.A., W. C. Ewing, and G. W. W. Minns, Esqrs.; also to the gentlemen connected with the various public offices at which I have been a literary searcher. For the illustrations I am indebted to Miss H. Louisa Grover, J. Richardson Jackson, Esq., and to Messrs. Negretti and Zambra, by whom the photographs have been executed. I would also tender my best thanks to those subscribers by whose kindness I have been encouraged to send forth this work; while, lastly, I wish thus publicly to own the obligation under which I feel to Mr. William Penny for, in the first place, the great care and attention he has bestowed on the printing of the work; and secondly, for the liberal arrangements he has made, by which I have been enabled to publish it.

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KETT'S REBELLION IN NORFOLK.

THE REBELLION IN KOSOVO

BY THE REV. J. H. WILSON, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

NEW YORK:
THE CENTRAL BOOK CONCERN,

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

It is my intention in the following pages to give an account of certain commotions that occurred in Norfolk in the time of Edward VI., in the year 1549.

The reign of Henry VIII. was one well calculated to engender strong feelings of discontent,—feelings, which, though repressed by the harsh and violent character of the king, could not be kept down when his amiable and gentle son sat upon the throne. It is very true, as is observed by Sir John Hayward,¹ that “the goods and lands,” which had been church property, “being sold at a low value, enriched many and ennobled some, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the changes” that had been introduced; but others, who either were not, or could not be, thus influenced, felt deeply and acutely what had taken place. The Duke of Somerset,² in a letter to Sir Philip Hoby, minister at the court of Charles V. (August 24th, 1549), says:—“The causes and pretences of these uproars and risings are divers and uncertain, and so full of variety in every camp, as they call them, that it is hard to write what it is, as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and that would have they wot not what. Some crieth, ‘Pluck down enclosures and parks.’ Some, for their commons. Other pretendeth religion. A number would rule another while, and direct things as gentlemen have done.”

¹ Life of Edward VI.

² Harl. MSS. No. 523.

Such was Somerset's view formed in the midst of these troubles : the following may be alleged as the causes which produced them.

The suppression of the religious houses, and consequent cessation of that hospitality and charity which "provided to many a relief from the extreme pressure of want and necessity;"¹ the change of landlords, with increased rents and greater difficulty in finding a market for commodities; and the enclosure of lands, wholly or partially common, on a large scale, by the nobility and gentry, without regard to the rights of others: these, the immediate results of Henry's seizure and alienation of church property, together with the depreciation of the currency; the consequent advance in the price of all the necessaries of life, while wages remained fixed;² the diminution of the demand for labour by reason of the increased value of wool, which caused arable land to be turned into pasture, so that "whole estates³ were laid waste by enclosures," *i. e.* thrown out of tillage and turned into pasture, "while the tenants, regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations; and the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery;" the vexations to which the middle class were subjected by the king's purveyors,⁴ and the sufferings caused by the scarcity that prevailed, which was generally supposed⁵ to be still further aggravated by the forestallers, ingrossers, and regraters of the day: these temporal grievances, joined with the spiritual ones

¹ Hume.

² By 25 Edw. III. stat. 1, c. 1—4.

³ Hume:—"Your sheep may be said now to devour men, and unpeople not only villages but towns."—*Sir Thomas More's Utopia*.

⁴ "The purveyor alloweth for a lamb worth two shylynges but xij*d.*, for a capon worth xij*d.* six pens, and so after that rate: so that after that rate ther is not the poorest man that hathe any thyng to sell but he loseth half in the price, besides taryng for his money, which somtyme he hathe after long suyte to the officeres and great coste suyng for it, and many tymes he never hathe it: so that he is dryven to recover his losses by sellyng deerer to the kynges subjects."—*State Paper Office—Domestic—Edw. VI.* vol. v. 20.

See *Archæologia*, vol. viii., for an interesting article on purveyors.

⁵ But wrongly, since these people were the best friends to the country, in scarcity diminishing consumption early, or worse famine would have ensued eventually.

springing from Henry's proceedings in matters of religion, gave rise to feelings of discontent, which displayed themselves sometimes in angry speeches against the king,¹ and at other times in popular outbreaks, that began in Lincolnshire in 1536, and, spreading by degrees into various counties, may be considered as having ended, at least for a time, in 1568. While in addition to the above, or rather lying at their very root, and giving them whatever vitality they had as grievances, lay that sense of the oppressions of the feudal system, which years,—the many years it had existed in the land,—instead of removing, had only tended to drive down the more deeply into the hearts of the people.

These disturbances fall under the following heads:—

1. Religion: the principal, omitting the less important, were
 - a. The Lincolnshire rising; followed by
 - b. Aske's Rebellion,² or the Pilgrimage for Grace to the Commonwealth, in 1536;
 - c. The Devonshire rising in 1549; and
 - d. The insurrection of the Northern Earls in 1568:
- and 2. Enclosures: to which may be attributed that which is the subject of the following pages; viz. Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk.³

¹ Many instances might be given from documents in the treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

² See Appendix (A), for "A commandement to the Commons;" my authority for thus naming this rising.

³ Dr. Lingard, who seems to have relied on Godwin's Annals and Heylin's History of the Reformation, takes a different view, and mentions as one of Kett's complaints, "that a new service had been forced on the people in opposition to the conviction of their consciences." My authorities are the Lady Mary, Kett himself, and Rapin, from whose united testimony I have arrived at the conclusion that this rebellion had nothing, except in point of time, in common with the religious commotions of the period, but was purely a civil rising to obtain, by force of arms, redress for social grievances. Thus, we find the Lady Mary, in a letter to the Protector, July 20th, 1549, written from Kenninghall, Norfolk, in answer to the charge that "her proceedings in matters of religion had given no small courage to many of those men to require and to do as they did," says,—“That appeared to be most untrue, for that all the rising about the parts where she was, was touching no part of religion.”—*Strype's Mem. Eccles.* vol. ii. pt. i. c. xxi.

This assertion is fully borne out by Kett's List of Grievances, in which nothing

The disturbed state of Lincolnshire and the North became known in Norfolk towards the end of 1536,¹ the tidings first reaching Lynn, and from thence being carried to Norwich by Richard Fletcher, the keeper of the city gaol, and to Walsingham by certain Cornish soldiers going thither on pilgrimage.

Early the following year¹ Sir Nicholas Myleham, canon and sub-prior of Walsingham, together with George Gysborough and several others, attempted to "procure and make an insurrection." They intended to collect as many persons as would join them, to fire the beacons, and, having raised the country, to set forth toward the north, marching twenty miles a day; and the reason given for their thus rising was, "They thought it very evil done for the suppressing of so many religious houses, where God was well served, and many other good deeds of charity done;"² and that an insurrection would prove a

is said about "the old religion." "Priests," "proprietary parsons," &c., are mentioned, but so as to show that the Norfolk laity were dissatisfied with the way in which they discharged their duties, rather than with the new doctrines they were teaching; while, from the boldness with which, at this very time, the reactionary spirit was manifesting itself in Devonshire, there is every reason to believe, that no fear of consequences would have restrained the people of Norfolk from displaying the same, had they been of the like disposition. Rapin says they called the old oak, "The Oak of Reformation, * * because these talked only of reforming the state, religion being neither the cause nor pretence of their rising."

¹ Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

² "If any poor Householder had lacked Seed to sow his land, or Bread Corn, or Malt, before Harvest, and come to a Monastery either of Men or Women, he should not have gone away without Help; for he should have had it untill Harvest, that he might easily have paid it again. Yea, if he had made his Moan for an Ox, Horse, or Cow, he might have had it upon his Credit; and such was y^e good Conscience of y^e Borrowers in those Dayes, that y^e Thing borrowed needed not to have been asked at the Day of Payment.

"They never raised any Rent, or took any Incomes or Garsomes [*i.e.* Fines] of their Tenants; nor ever took in or improved any Comons; altho' the most Part and y^e greatest wast grounds belonged to their Possessions.

"If any poor People had made their Mone at their Day of Marriage to any Abbey, they should have had Money given them to their great Help. And thus all sort of people were helped and succoured by Abbeyes: yea, happy was that Person that was Tenant to an Abbey; for it was a rare thing to hear that any Tenant was removed by taking his Farm over his head; nor he was not afraid of any Re-entry for not Payment of his Rent, if necessity drove him thereunto."—*Cole's MSS.* vol. xii. p. 8.

remedy for the “moche penery and scarsenes” that prevailed. Their designs were communicated by John Galant of Letheringset to Sir John Heydon, by whose exertions, and those of Sir Roger Townshend, the conspiracy was suppressed, and the ringleaders executed¹ at Norwich. A woman at Aylsham,² named Elizabeth Wood, who sympathized with them, was arrested for saying, in the hearing of John Dix, while resting upon his shop window, “It was pitie that these Walsingham men war discovered, for we shall never have good worlde till we fall together by the earys :

“And with clubbes and clowted shone
Shall the dede be done:”³

for we had never good worlde synnes this kinge rayned.” Sir John Heydon, in his letter to “Master Richard Gresham,” to whom he sent an account of his examination of her, that the matter might be brought before the notice of “my Lorde Privy Seale,” calls her words “detestable and trayterous,” and herself “an ongracyous woman.”

¹ Thomas Colles, a prisoner, in his examination, preserved in the Treas. of Rec. of Exchequer, mentions two of them, viz., Mileham and Rogerson, as going “oute of the Casthill to execution;” and another prisoner, James Byggis, “hard Rogerson say that he wold accuse” two other persons “for safe garde of his lyff, and then Mylem and Gisborough said, ‘Yt were but ffooly, seyng we must nedes dye, to put eny moo to troble.’”—The following, from the Household Expenses of the Lestranges, of Hunstanton, relates most probably to the execution of these men:—

Itm p^d the xxvijth day of May to John Man and
other at Norwiche at the execucon of the Traytors
for suche things as was bought for you there..... — „ xlij „ iij
Archæol. xxv. p. 511.

“I have seen a written note that says,—‘This yer was Ralf Rogers, and George Gysborrow, the Sub-Prior of Whalsyngham [Sir Nicholas Mileham was sub-prior] with others, to the number of 15, condemned of treson, whereof 5 suffered.’”—*Blomefield’s Norfolk—Walsingham.*

² Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

³ See Second Part of Henry VI. iv. 2; where Shakspeare represents Jack Cade as saying:—

“We will not leave one lord, one gentleman:
Spare none, but such as go in clouted shoon,
For they are thrifty honest men.”

Such mention is made of Mousehold Heath at this time as shows that it was thought likely to prove the scene of important events; for a prophecy was in circulation that said "There shulde lande at Walborne hope¹ the prowdest prynce in all Cristendome, and so shall come to Moshold heethe, and there shuld mete with other ij kinges, and shall fyght and shalbe put down: and the whyte lyon shuld optayne" [the mastery]. The person, Richard Bishop, who took some pains to make the above prophecy known, thus describes the state of suspicion in which he and others were living: "We are used under suche fassyon now a dais as it hathe not ben sene, for if iij or iiij of us be communynge together, the constables woll examyne what communycacion [it is we are having], and stokke us² if we woll not tell theym: gudd fellowes wold not be so used longe if one wold be trew to another." And then he said, "My thynketh ye seame to be an honest man," addressing Robert Seaman, who afterwards informed against him; "such a one as a man may trust to open his mynd unto: and if that ij men have communycacion togither, a man may go back at his word as longe as no thyrd man ys ther: iij may kepe counsell if ij be away."³

¹ The Danes are said to have landed at Weybourne Hope in their invasions (*Blomefield's Norfolk*): and the old rhyme is still remembered in the county,—

"He that would England win,
Must at Weybourne Hope begin:—"

a prophecy so fully believed at the commencement of this century, that it was generally thought in Norfolk, if Napoleon invaded England, he would do so at this point.

² *I. e.* "put us in the stocks."

³ "And lykewyse the commynalte
Apply themselves ryght mervelously
To lerne crafte and subtilite
Ther neybour to begyle:
The sister will begile the brother,
The child will begyle the mother;
And thus one will not trust another,
Yff this world last awhyle."

From a Poem entitled "Now a dayes," Lambeth Library, MSS. No. 159, p. 261, written probably in 1540.

There is a very interesting paper on the above prophecy, in the *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. i. p. 209.

The same year,¹ at Old Buckenham, Hugh Wilkinson made this proposition to John Browne, a cooper, and to John Lok, a servant, as they were riding homeward: "Lette us go home, for now are the vysitours in puttyng downe of our hous.² And if ye woll do after me, I have here an Aungell noble in my pursse that never dyd me good, and that shall ye have bytwene yowe, if ye woll comme in the evenyng and kyll theym in ther beddes, ffor I knowe the getes³ of every dore, so that I shall lette yowe into every chamber. And whenne ye have donne yowe may sone be out of the waye, for the wood is at hannde. And whenne they be in ther beddes ye shalbe sewer that they have no wepon at handde to defendde theym selffes with all. And if I hadd no mor to loose thenne one of yowe hath, it shuld be the ffurst deade I shuld do. And they denyed to do it, and saide they wold not medell." "Marry," quoth John Parker of Buckenham, when he heard of the above, "it was perilously spoken of hym."

The same year⁴ certain persons at Fincham were anxious to raise the commons by ringing the bells in every town. One of them, Thomas Stylton, was accused of saying, "It were a good dede that the Comynalte shuld ryse here as they ded ther; for they ded ryse for the Common Welth, and yf yee had ben ther as I was," *i. e.* in Yorkshire, where he had served as a soldier, "ye shuld have hard that they rose for the Wele of the Comynalte." Their wish was that Mr. Fincham, of Fincham, should join them, and if he would not, "they would make a Carte wey betwext his hed and hys shulders;" and next, that "the halydays that wer putte down, shuld" be "restoryd ageyn," which, they believed, would have been the case, if the Yorkshire rising had succeeded, as they wished it had done. With regard to this restoration of the holidays, it is only right to state that, though the men of Fincham were desirous of retaining them, others were of a different opinion, as appears from a "Petition to the King in Parliament,"⁴ in which it is stated:—

¹ Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

² Old Buckenham Abbey.

³ *I. e.* "the go" of every door, or "how each door goes."

⁴ Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

“Whereas there is a great number of holy days, which now at this present time with very small devotion be solemnized and kept throughout this your realm, upon the which many great, abominable, and execrable vices be used and practised: if it may stand with your gracious pleasure, and especially” in the case of “such as fall in the harvest,” we pray that they “might by your Majesty, by the advice of your most honourable Council, Prelates, and Ordinaries, be made fewer in number: and” we trust that “those that shall hereafter be ordained to stand and continue might, and may, be the more devoutly, religiously and reverently observed, to the laud of Almighty God, and to the increase of your Highness honour and fame.”

But the boldest of the discontented spirits of the day, to judge by his language, was John Walker, of Griston,¹ who in 1540 gave the following advice:—

“Yf iij or iiij good ffelowes wold ryde in the nyght with every man a belle, and cry in every towne that they passe through, To Swaffham! To Swaffham! by the morning ther would be ten thousand assemblyd at the lest; and then one bold felowe to stande forth and sey, Syrs, nowe we be her assemblyd: you knowe howe all the gentylmen in manner be gone forth, and you knowe howe lytyll faver they bere to us pore men: let us therefore nowe go home to ther howsys, and ther shall we have harnesse, substance, and vytayle. And as many as wyll not tirn to us, let us kylle them, ye,² evyn ther chyltern in the cradelles: for yt were a good thinge yf ther were so many jentylmen in Norff. as ther be whyt bulles. And³ we have a suffycient nombre, let us go towarde Lynne, and we shalbe good ynough, and strong ynough, for all them at ther comyng home out of the north, and they that wyll not tirn serve them all a lyke, and all them that dwell in our County. The best we myght do were to begynne with Mr. Southwell, and from them to Mr. Brampton, and to Mr. John Breys, and Mr. Hoggtons, and so to Sir Roger Touneshende, for he is styll at home, and so to spoyle them all as we goo, and

¹ Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

² *I. e.* “yea.”

³ “And we,” &c., *i. e.* “If we,” &c.

hernesse our sylffe,¹ &c. And Syrs, yf you wyll take upon you to play thys acte with the belles by nyght, you shall have horse of me, and no man shall know you."

Such was the temper of the people of Norfolk, and though there is no evidence to show it, yet as the old oppressive system was maintained in ever-increasing severity, we may assume they continued discontented and ready to rise, provided a "bold felowe" would stand forth and be their leader, and that there were some tangible grievance, common and self-evident to all, and so heavily oppressive, as to rouse, and at the same time unite, them to strike for its removal:—and such a grievance enclosures were felt to be. Accordingly, when the cry arose, as it did in 1549, "Pluck down enclosures," this "cry" was immediately adopted; the popular feeling rallied around it; discontent, long pent up, and harshly repressed, without even the appearance of justice being regarded, burst forth with a violence that threatened to mingle all things in utter and irremediable ruin; hatred of the gentry, which they had excited against themselves by a series of oppressions and exactions, was no longer restrained, but displayed itself in open acts of violence; and that spirit of reform, and determination to correct abuses, was called forth, which, though often baffled, has ever risen with fresh strength and renewed ardour for the contest, producing at length those beneficial results, which every true lover of his country must rejoice at and glory in.

¹ *I. e.* "selves."

CHAPTER II.

A PROCLAMATION¹ set forth by Edward VI., April 24th, 1548, shows that many had, by the false rumours that were in circulation, "been seduced and brought to much disorder of late, and in some parts in manner to insurrection and rebellion;" for the avoiding of which for the future, it is commanded, "that no man tell forth, spread abroad, or utter lies, upon pain of his Majesty's displeasure, and grievous imprisonment of such offender's body."

Shortly after, May 16th,² an order was sent into Norfolk to the Earl of Sussex,³ Henry Ratcliffe, requiring him, among others of the same county, "to have in full readiness by the 10th of June next

¹ Proclamations of Edward VI. No. 19.

² Cotton MSS. Titus, B. 2.

³ Henry Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, Viscount Fitz-Walter, Lord Egremont and Burnell, was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Queen Anne Bullen, and in the first year of the reign of Edward VI. had the command of 1,600 demilances in the expedition then made into Scotland; in which service being unhorsed, he narrowly escaped with his life: he was in so much favour at that time, that in the act for dissolving the chantries, colleges, free chapels, &c., which was passed this year, he had this clause inserted:—"Provided always * * that this Act, ne anie thing therein contained, shall extend to the College or Chanterie of Attilborough [which had been granted to his father in 1541], but that Henrie, now Erle of Sussex * * maie * * have and injoy the said College and Chanterie * * any thing in this Act to the contrarie in anie wise notwithstanding." He was in great favour also, with Queen Mary: by her grant, dated Nov. 2, in the first year of her reign, he had "Liberty, Licens and Pardon, to were his Cappe, Coyf, or night Cappe, or twoo of them at his pleasor, as well in our presens, as in the presens of any other person or persons within this our relme or any other place of our Dominion during his life."—*Blomefield's Norfolk*.

"He resided at Attleborough. On a small and scarce print of this earl, he is styled Lord-Lieutenant of Norfolk and Suffolk; and this is the only authority that could be obtained for placing him here," *i. e.* first in the list of Lord-Lieutenants.—*Ewing's Norf. Lists*, p. 3.

ensuing, two good and hable horses meet to serve in the field for demilances,¹ with two demilances to be employed upon the same," and they were to be ready "at one hour's warning."

At the beginning of the following month, June 1st, came forth a well-known proclamation² "against enclosures, letting of houses to decay, and unlawful converting of arable ground into pastures." At the same time a "Commission for redress of enclosures"³ was issued by the king, in which he complains that "the force and puissance" of the "realm, which was wont to be greatly feared of all foreign powers, is very much decayed, the people wonderfully abated, and those that remain grievously oppressed:" and directs inquiry to be made as to who have been transgressors, breakers, and offenders of the several statutes, 4 Hen. VII., c. 19; 7 Hen. VIII., c. 1; 25 Hen. VIII., c. 13, and 27 Hen. VIII., c. 22.

This commission was confined to the counties of Oxford, Berks, Warwick, Leicester, Bedford, Bucks, and Northampton. Instructions were issued at the same time to assist the commissioners in the discharge of their duties.

Strype gives at full length the charge of Mr. John Hales, one of the commissioners, at their assembly for the execution of their trust, in which he gives the following explanation of the word "enclosures."

"It is not to be taken [for] where a man doth enclose and hedge in his own proper ground, where no man hath commons," *i. e.* right to common; "for such enclosure is very beneficial to the commonwealth: it is a cause of great increase of wood: but it is meant thereby, when any man hath taken away and enclosed any other men's commons, or hath pulled down houses of husbandry, and converted the lands from tillage to pasture. This is the meaning of this word, and so we pray you to remember it."

This will be the more intelligible if we bear in mind that, at this

¹ A representation of a demilance on horseback [will be found in Meyrick's *Anc. Arm.* vol. iii. p. 5; while a somewhat different specimen is at the Tower: the latter is armed with a "lance" or "pike," of a very formidable description.

² Strype's *Memorials*, vol. ii. part II. Repository P.

³ *Proclamations of Edw. VI.* No. 24.

time, the arable land of any village or township, known as "the field"—a name still in common use—was subdivided by ridges called "bawlkes" into "lands" belonging to the different proprietors, who cultivated them and took the produce; but when "the corne was inned and harvest don,"¹ then all had right of common over the whole.² Just prior to Kett's rebellion, the practice began to be generally adopted, by those who had two or more of them lying together, to enclose these "lands" as well as others, viz., the waste lands of the manor, that "owght to be common;"¹ and it was against such enclosures that the efforts of Kett and his associates were especially directed. In the "Annals of Cambridge," above quoted, the following enclosures are mentioned and complained of (temp. Edw. VI.): "a common lane," "the plowing uppe of certayne bawlks and carte wayes in the feelde," of "a bawlke vii foote brode," &c.³ Mr. Cooper gives also two ballads that were written at this time, from which it appears that the insurgents were wont to

" Cast hedge and dyche in the lake
Fyxed with many a stake.
Though it war never so faste
Yet asondre it is wraste:"⁴

and to consider their proceedings in this matter as very praiseworthy :

" Syr, I think that this wyrke
Is as gud as to byld a kyrke
For Cambridges bayles⁵ trulye
Gyve yll example to the cowntrye,
Ther comones lykewyses for to engrose,
And from pore men it to enclose."⁶

The loss of the public lands, the hedging in of fields which

¹ Annals of Cambridge, by C. H. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A. vol. ii. p. 38.

² This custom still exists in Norfolk, at East Tuddenham, Wood Norton, and Tacolnestone, and in other parts of the kingdom.

³ See Appendix (B) for "Complayntes at the Insurrection."

⁴ "Wraste," *i. e.* "wrested" or "torn."

⁵ *I. e.* bailiffs.

⁶ Taken by Mr. Cooper from Dr. Lamb's Cambridge Documents, 160.

had previously (for a portion of the year at least) been common, and the enclosure of pastures, are mentioned by Nevylle amongst the complaints of the discontented,¹ while in the List of Grievances sent by Kett to the king, we find the following relating to this point:—

That no more saffron-grounds be enclosed;

That no lord of any manor shall have right of common;

That this right be confined to freeholders and copyholders:

but nothing is said about pulling down houses of husbandry, or converting arable land into pasture, though there may be an allusion to the latter in their prayer, that a limit be put to the grazing of bullocks and sheep. In the Appendix (C) will be found a letter from Sir Thomas Darcy and Sir John Gates to “gentill Mr. Cicell,” from which it appears that their power as commissioners was too limited, and that they were afraid the people seeing this would only “be brought in more rage than they were before.” It may be this was the reason why the rising, which speedily ensued, was so violent; or that the commissioners paid more attention to the converting of arable land into pasture, &c., as the unlawful enclosure they were called upon to remedy, while it was for their commons the people were especially anxious.

In June of this year letters were sent by the Council² “to the special men in every shire,” that they might have the beacons on the coast in good order, as a protection against foreign enemies; while “for the order and stay of others,” it was thought “requisite that some of the gentlemen should remain behind:” similar directions³ were at the same time issued, concerning the inland beacons, with this significant conclusion: “That all things may be in good order at home, we require you to have a good eye and a special regard to the doings of the common people, and in case of any misdemeanours, &c.,

¹ “Agros publicos sibi ac suis sublevandis a majoribus relictos adimi, prædia quæ patrum memoriâ communia essent, ea nunc fossis ac sepibus distingui, pascuis scrobes circumduci, omnes sibi aditus intercludi.”—*Nevylle*.

² State Paper Office—Domestic—Edw. VI. vol. iv. 12.

³ *Id.* vol. iv. 10.

to give order for the stay and reformation of the same, with all diligence ;” while all persons that had servants in their employ, were “to keep the same in labour, good order and obedience.” The commissioners found “the people most tractable and quiet.” John Hales requests the Protector to issue like commissions for other counties ; and because they have not already been “heard of in other parts of the realm,” he complains “we be thought men only bent or set to do displeasure to some men in these parts.”—July 22nd, 1548. “Though the good Duke of Somerset,” says Strype,¹ speaking of the effect of this commission, “took all his pains, and employed many honest men in this charitable work, to put a stop to the impoverishing and dispiriting of the poor, and to heal their discontents, which he foresaw also a great danger in, yet such was the greedy avarice of the gentry, that all these endeavours proved unsuccessful ; many great men at the court, and the Earl of Warwick it seems among the rest, backing them, being themselves probably guilty in that behalf.”

John Hales,² in addition to his labours when on circuit, brought three bills into Parliament, to relieve the necessities, and so allay the discontented spirit of the people :—

First, For the rebuilding of houses that had been allowed to fall into decay, and for the maintenance of tillage and husbandry ;

Second, To prevent regrating and forestalling ; and

Third, To compel those who kept sheep, to keep kine also, and to rear calves in a certain proportion.

The first two were brought forward in the House of Lords, where the former met with a speedy rejection, while the latter passed, and was sent down to the Lower House, where it was so debated and tossed up and down, and at last committed to such men, and there so much deferred, that one would have said “the lamb had been committed to the wolf’s custody.” The third bill was brought forward in the House of Commons ; but there, it was then “Hold with me and I will hold with thee ;” and so the bill was lost.

¹ Strype’s Memorials, vol. ii. part I. c. 12.

² Id. vol. ii. part I. c. 16.

The following extract from ¹ “such matters as have at sundry times been opened to me, Henry Lord Marquis Dorset, by the Lord Seymour, Admiral of England,” shows how those high in office were ready to avail themselves of the popular discontent to further their own private views.

“When I was with the Admiral at Sudely, which was in the end of the summer (1548), and also when he was at my house, which was after Michaelmas, the Admiral devising with me to make me strong in my country, advised me to keep a good house, and asked me what friends I had in my country; to whom I made answer, that I had divers servants that were gentlemen, well able to live of themselves. That is well, said the Admiral; yet trust not too much to the gentlemen, for they have somewhat to lose: but I will rather advise you to make much of the head yeomen and franklins of the country, specially those that be the ringleaders, for they be men that be best able to persuade the multitude, and may best bring the number, and therefore I will wish you to make much of them, and to go to their houses, now to one, now to another, carrying with you a flagon or two of wine² and a pasty of venison, and to use a familiarity with them; for so shall you cause them to love you, and be assured to have them at your commandment; and this manner, I may tell you, I intend to use myself, said he.”

By referring to a subsequent page, it will be seen that Sir Roger Wodehouse tried to ingratiate himself with the insurgents by acting somewhat after the above fashion, and also how it fared with him.

The Protector was suspected of being too much inclined to act like his brother, Lord Sudely; viz., to seek for popularity, but to do so by excessive “softness, and opinion to be good to the poor.”³

The following is a summary of what was done to put down the insurrections that were now breaking out in connection with “decays of houses and unlawful enclosures.”

A proclamation⁴ was issued by some of the Council, in which having referred to a previous one that fixed a certain day⁵ for the remedy of the things complained of, and having mentioned the fact, that many

¹ State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. vi. 7.

² Similarly to Cyrus the Younger, as described by Xenophon.

³ Wm. Paget to the Duke of Somerset. State Paper Office—Domestic—Edw. VI. vol. viii. 4.

⁴ State Paper Office—Domestic—Edw. VI. vol. vii. 18.

⁵ May 1st.—Hume.

were now "plucking down pales, hedges and ditches at their pleasure," they promise that these "decays" shall be reformed, and require that these tumults be repressed, calling upon all men to assist in "the stay thereof," "for the more suretie of his hyghnes good and loving subjectes."

Somerset¹ writing to the Marquis of Dorset and the Earl of Huntingdon, states (but his supicion does not seem to have been well grounded, so far as Norfolk was concerned), that the "seking redresse of enclosures" had "by seditious priests and other yvel peple," become mixed up with attempts for the restitution of the old cruel laws that had been passed in Henry the Eighth's time. Their Lordships are accordingly prayed to be ready to repress their "attempts in the beginneng if any chaunce" to be made.

A proclamation² was issued by the King, in which having stated that "a great number of rude and ignorant people in certain shires of England, had done great and most perilous and heinous disorder, and had riotously assembled themselves, plucked down men's hedges, disparked their parks, and taken upon them the king's power and sword, but had now repented of their evil doings;" his Majesty proceeds to declare all such pardoned, and forbids their being troubled for the part they had taken in any commotions, while, at the same time, he threatens with death, loss of lands, &c., any that might afterwards make any similar disturbances.

The Protector was much blamed by William Paget for issuing this pardon:³ he says, "Your pardones have geven evell men a boldenes to enterpryse as they [have done], and cause them to thinke youe dare not meddell with them, but are glad to please them, and to suffre whatsoever they lyste, and what pleaseth them, be yt right or wronge, they must have yt."

"These parts,"⁴ says Lord Arundel, writing to Sir William Petre,

¹ State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. vii. 31. June 11th, 1549.

² Proclamations of Edward VI. No. 37. June 14th, 1549.

³ State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. viii. 4. July 7th, 1549.

⁴ Id. vol. vii. 44. June 30th, 1549.

from Guildford, "remain as well as may be in a quavering quiet;" and the following extracts from Paget's letter¹ to Somerset show that such was also the condition of the rest of the kingdom, and that the Protector was blamed as the cause of its being so unsettled.

"I told your Grace the trouthe, and was not believed: well, now your Grace seithe yt what seythe your Grace? Mary, the King's subjects owt of all discipline, owt of obedience, caryng neither for Protector nor King, and mucche lesse for any other meane officer. And what is the cause? Your owne levytie, your softnes, your opinion to be good to the pore. The opinion of suche as sayethe to your Grace, 'O Syr, there was never man that had the hartes of the pore as youe have. Oh! the Commons praye for youe, Syr: they saye, God save your life.' I knowe your gentle harte ryght well, and that your meaning ys good and godly: howsoever, some evell men lyst to prate here that youe have some greater enterpryse in your hedde, that leane so mucche to the multitude. I knowe, I saye, your good meaning and honest nature. But I saye, Syr, yt is great pitie (as the common proverbe goeth in a warme sommer) that ever fayre wether shuld do harme. Yt is pitie that your so mucche gentlenes shuld be an occasion of so great an evell as ys now chaunced in England by these rebelles."

* * "Consider, I beseche youe most humbly, with all my harte, that societie in a realme dothe consiste and ys maynteyned by meane of religion and lawe." * * "Loke well whether youe have either lawe or religion at home, and I feare youe shall fynde neither. The use of the old religion is forbydden by a lawe, and the use of the newe ys not yet prynted in the stomackes of the eleven of twelve partes in the realme, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power restethe. Now, Syr, for the lawe: where ys it used in England at libertie? Almost no where. The fote taketh upon him the parte of the head, and comyns ys become a kinge, appointing condicions and lawes to the governours, sayeng, 'Graunt this, and that, and we will go home.'" * * "Be the inclosures lately made that these people repyne now at?" * * "I knowe in

¹ State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. viii. 4. July 7th, 1549.

this matter of the commons every man of the Counsayle hath myslyked your proceedings, and wysshed yt otherways. I knowe your Grace can saye, 'No man shall answer the Kinge for these things but I.' O Syr, I feare me, that yf youe take not an other wayes betymes in these matters of tumult, neither youe nor we shall come to answeyng." * * "Your Grace must remember, that saving for the name of a kinge, and that youe must do all thinge in the name of an other, your Grace ys durynge the King's Majestes young age of imperfection to do his owne things, as yt were a Kinge, and have his Majestes power. Then, Syr, for a Kinge, do like a Kinge in this matter specially. Take a noble courage to youe. Be of magnanimitie, and reduce the subjecte to the order of a subjecte; ffor your proceedings wherein take example at other kings. And youe nede not to seke farre for the matter. Go no further than to him which dyed last of most noble memory, Kinge Henry the eight: kepte not he his subjects from the highest to the lowest in due obedience?—and howe? By the onely mayntenaunce of justice in dewe course: which now being brought out of course, cannot, for anything that I see, be brought to reputacion, and to an establisment, but by power and force, whiche is a grievous hearing, yf it might be otherwyse. But it is better late than never, and now the sooner best of all." Paget then sets forth what seems to him the best course for Somerset to adopt, viz., to summon the Council, to send for the Almayn horsemen from Calais, Lord Ferris and Sir William Herbert from Wales, with as many men as they dare trust,¹ and the Earl of Shrewsbury with his retainers; to place the king at Windsor; to go himself with as many noblemen and others as could be mustered into the disaffected counties, accompanied by the Chief Justices of England; to hang the ripest of the rebels, and to take surety of such rich men as might have favoured them; and to take the liberties of such towns as had offended into the King's hands. * * "Your Grace may saye youe shall lose the hartes of the people: of the good people youe shall not, and of the yll yt maketh no matter." * * "By this meanes youe shall

¹ It will be seen afterwards that the Welsh soldiers were not of much value.

delyver the Kinge an obedient realme." * * "And, Syr, where[as] your Grace sayth that they be a fewe that with enclosures, &c., give this occasion, hold your peace to yourselfe, and at leysure in the wynter let them be sent for one by one, and had in confession; and let such of them as be offendours smart for yt, whereby bothe the King's Majesty may have a profyt, and the pore man (yf that be the sore) be relieved."

While in a letter from Paget to Petre,¹ July 13th, we find these domestic commotions known on the Continent, and Granvelle, the minister of Charles V., giving the following advice with regard to them: "Marry, we hear say, that your commons at home font grand barbularye; but it is nothing if Monsieur Protector step to it betimes, and travail in person, as the Emperor himself did, with the sword of Justice in his hand." To this Paget replied, "That the matter was at a point," and says, "I made little of it, how heavy soever our hearts took it."

The harshness which characterizes the above extracts; the reference to Henry the Eighth's example,² as one so well worthy of imitation; the evident ignoring of any and all complaints as wholly groundless; and the wish, so prominently put forward, that punishment should be rigorously inflicted on all offenders, rather than that justice should be done towards the injured and oppressed; all this, on the part of the King's counsellors, standing as it did in so striking contrast with the gentle and amiable disposition of the young king, might well embolden the people to endeavour to win by force, what they could not reasonably expect to gain in any other way.

There was also, as is clear from Paget's letter, an impression in the minds of the people that the Council was divided; that while there was an aristocratical party, headed by Warwick (ultimately the

¹ State Paper Office—Edward VI.—Germany.

² "An example," as Sir John Hayward (*Life of Edward VI.*) says, "that was not then to be followed, since the kings were not equal either in spirit or in power. Even as it is in the fable, that albeit an Eagle did bear away a Lamb in her talons with full flight, yet a Raven endeavouring to do the like was held entangled and fettered in the fleece."

suppressor of the Norfolk rising); there was also another, headed by one well able to defend their cause,—Somerset, “the good Duke,” as people loved to call him. He was now at the zenith of his power, and accordingly, the present was the opportunity seized for seeking some redress of popular grievances.

KETT'S REBELLION.

“THE first attempt was made at Attleborow,¹ wher they threw downe the fences of one Green of Wylby, who was supposed to have enclosed a parcell of Attleborow common, adjoining to the common pasture of Hargham.”² Such was the humble commencement of this rebellion,—a mere village brawl, a perception in the rural mind of injury received, and of one way at least—a rude, rough way, it is true—by which the wrong might be remedied. And here the matter might have rested, too obscure to deserve notice ; but rumours being circulated in Norfolk that the poor in other parts of the kingdom, and especially in Kent,³ had filled up ditches, and laid open the lands formerly common, that had been enclosed, complaints arose in various quarters because the like was not done in this county also. Secret meetings were held, and men of humble birth, whom the circumstances of the time brought into notice, bewailed loudly their poverty, and inveighed with much bitterness against the nobility and gentry : “Compare,” said they,⁴ “our respective positions : all power is in their hands, and they so use it as to make it unbearable ; while nothing is left for us but the extreme of misery. As for them, they abound in luxuries ;

¹ In Lingard “Aldborough ;” but wrongly.

² Sir John Hayward’s *Life of Edward VI.*

³ The Kent disturbances ended at midsummer. “Mr. Candish had warrant for xxxijs. to Clarencieux king at armes, sent into Kent for the pacifying the Rebelles about Midsommer, and carrying them their pardon.”—*Privy Council Register—Edward VI.* vol. i. p. 567.

⁴ Nevylle.

they are surrounded with all sorts of plenty ; they, when they are jaded with pleasure, are roused from their state of weariness and languor by the violence of their avarice, and the fierceness of their lusts : while as for us, what is our condition ? We are half dead with the length and severity of our labours ; we have in deed and in truth to eat our bread 'in the sweat of our brow,' and our whole lives are spent in nothing else than undergoing all the evils of hunger, cold, and thirst. And who will say that this is not a wretched and unworthy state of things ? and most wretched and unworthy it undoubtedly is ; but, bad as it may be, we could have endured it, if the gentry, besotted with pleasure and puffed up with pride, were not continually casting in our teeth, 'What pitiful creatures these poor wretches are !' This, then, is what we find fault with, and it is such treatment as this that we complain of. Urged on by their proud and haughty spirit, and either too idle or too careless to mind what they are doing, they actually make sport of our sufferings,—a circumstance which, as indeed it ought to do, inflicts such pain upon our minds, and brings such disgrace upon our good name, that nothing worse can be mentioned, nothing more unfair can be endured. Again, take the conditions on which we may hold land : they are evidently of a shameful character, and more fit for slaves than for free men. We *may* hold it, it is true ; but on what terms ? just as it suits the will and pleasure of some great man. But let an unhappy wretch offend one of these high and mighty folks, and what becomes of him then ? why, he is stripped, deprived, and turned out of everything. How long are we to submit to this ? How long is so overbearing a spirit to remain unpunished ? Moreover, they have now arrived at such a height of cruelty and covetousness, that, not content with seizing everything, and getting all they can by fraud or force, to spend it in pleasure and effeminate indulgences, they have sucked the very blood out of our veins, and the marrow out of our bones. The commons, which were left by our forefathers for the relief of ourselves and families, are taken from us ; the lands, which within the remembrance of our fathers were open, are now surrounded with hedges and ditches ; and the pastures are enclosed, so that no one can go upon them.

The birds of the air, the fish of the sea,¹ and all the fruits so unsparingly brought forth by the earth, they look upon as their own, and consequently use them as such. Nature, with all her abundance and variety, is unable to satisfy them, and so they think of new sources of enjoyment, such as sauces and perfumes, surrounding themselves with delicious scents, mixing sweet with sweet, and seeking on all sides whatever may gratify their desires and lusts. But what is the condition of the poor all this time? What is our food? Herbs and roots, and thankful may we be if, by incessant labour, we can get even these. Thankful! that we may, for they are vexed that we live and breathe without their leave; yes, they are vexed that we can breathe the common air, or look up at the glorious sky, without first asking and obtaining their permission. We cannot, any longer, endure injuries so great and so cruel; nor can we, without being moved by it, behold the insolence of the nobility and gentry: we will sooner betake ourselves to arms, and mix heaven and earth in confusion, than submit to such atrocities. Since nature has made the same provision for us as for them, and has given us also a soul and a body, we should like to know whether this is all that we are to expect at her hands.² Look at them, and look at us: have we not all the same form? are we not all born in the same way?³ Why, then, should their mode of life, why should their lot, be so vastly different from ours? We see plainly that matters are come to an extremity, and extremities we are determined to try. We will throw down hedges, fill up ditches, lay open the commons, and level to the ground whatever enclosures they have put up, no less shamefully, than meanly and unfeelingly. We will not submit to be oppressed with burthens in spite of ourselves, nor undergo such disgrace as we should be labouring under, if, by growing old in suffering these evils, we left to our posterity the State

¹ By referring to a subsequent page, it will be found that the right of fishing in rivers, and of retaining all "gret fyshe," is mentioned in Kett's List of Grievances.

² This so closely resembles Froissart's Chronicles, book II. chap. 73, that I have given John Ball's speech in the Appendix (D).

³ Somewhat similar, is Shylock's speech, Merchant of Venice, iii. 2.

full of wretchedness and misery, and in a much worse condition than we had found it. We will, therefore, leave no stone unturned to obtain our rights, nor will we give over until things are settled as we wish them to be. What we want is liberty, and the power, in common with our so-called superiors, of enjoying the gifts of nature: it is true our wish may not be gratified, but this one thing is certain, our attempt to obtain it will end only with our lives."¹ By referring to the List of Grievances Kett put forth in the name and on behalf of the "pore comons," as he styles those for whom he is pleading, it will at once be seen that Nevylle has scarcely given a fair account of their complaints. As an example of this, we may contrast the above strong and unreasonable statements about the equality of all men, with the following extract from Kett's address to the king, which will be found at full length at a subsequent page:—

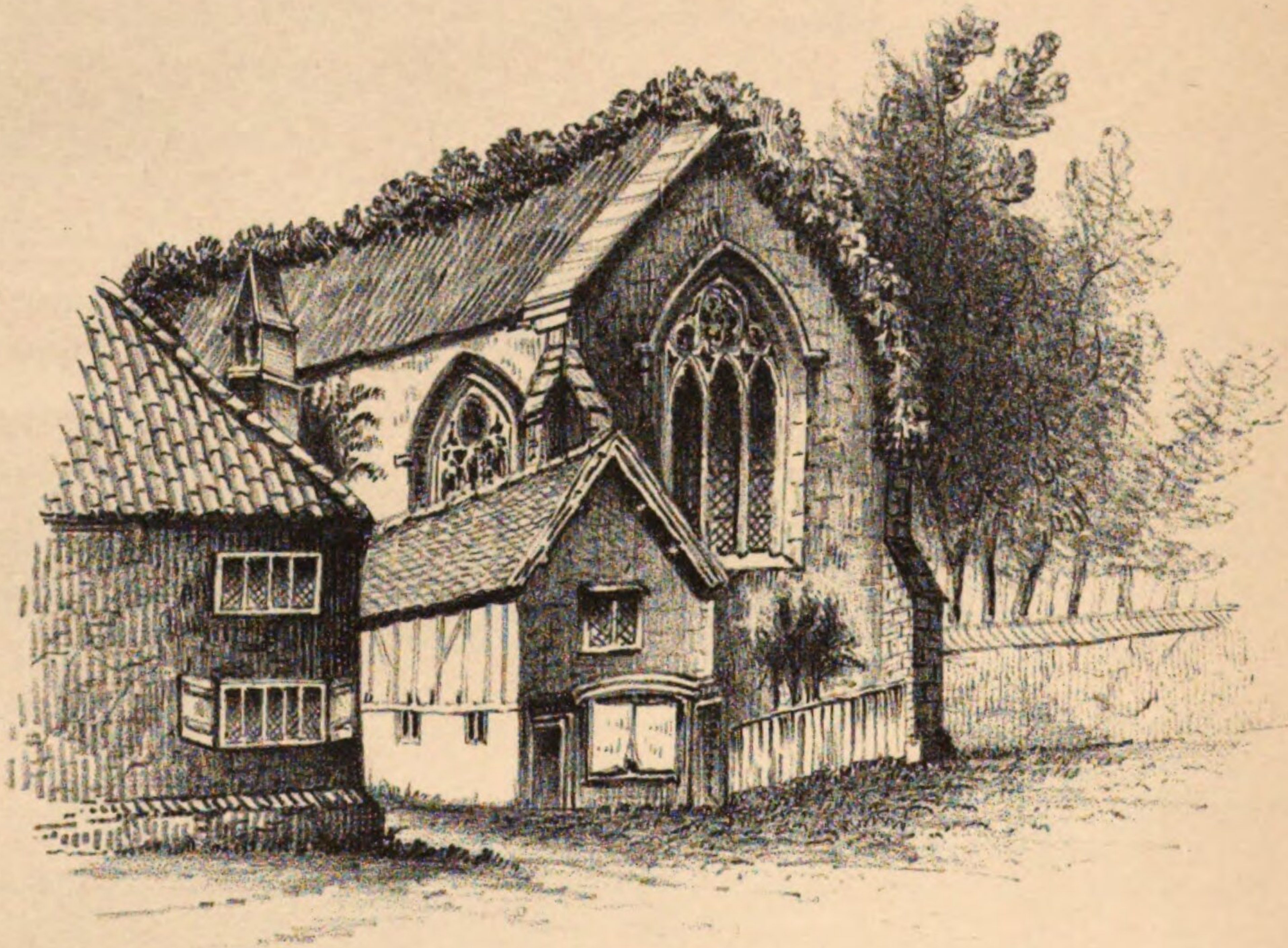
"We pray thatt all bonde men may be made fre, for god made all fre in his precious blode sheddyng."

The people being in this excited state, and having "conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, taking them all as enemies,"² soon proceeded to open acts of violence:—They began, as has been already mentioned, at Attleborough. The inhabitants of this town, together

¹ Nevylle's "De furor. Norfolc." from which the above speech is taken, "derives considerable weight from the fact of his intimacy with Archbishop Parker [to whom he was afterwards secretary], who was present at a great part of the transactions described, and to whom the book was dedicated. * * * It is a remarkable instance of the possibility of arriving at true facts in spite of any attempt to pervert them. The book is written in a spirit of the bitterest hostility, and yet the impression which it leaves of Kett and his followers, is certainly favourable. * * * The whole style * * * is in the highest degree rhetorical, and is, after the manner of the time, interlarded with imaginary speeches, in imitation of the ancients. On this account, probably, as well as from its connexion with the archbishop, it was by order in council commanded to the bishops to cause it to be read in all grammar schools, in the place of heathen poets."—Note on Rev. A. P. Stanley's Paper "On the part taken by Norfolk and Suffolk in the Reformation," published in the "Proceedings of the Archæological Institute for 1847."

My own impression is, that both Nevylle and Holinshed derived their information from "The Commoyson in No[rfolk], 1549," written by Nicholas Sotherton, and now in the Library of the British Museum, Harl. MSS. No. 1576, fol. 251.

² Duke of Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby, Harl. MSS. No. 523.



THOMAS À BECKET'S CHAPEL.

See P. 25.

with those of Eccles, Wilby, and other neighbouring villages, being angry with Mr. John Green, lord of the manor of Wilby, for enclosing that part of the common belonging to his manor, which before had been a portion of the adjoining commons of Hingham and Attleborough, on which they had all the right of commonage, met together June 20th,² threw down the hedges, and laid the whole open as it had previously been.

Having done this, they returned to their respective homes, where they seem to have remained tolerably quiet (though, from the "former talke" subsequently mentioned,³ it appears secret meetings were held during this interval) till the beginning of July, at which time they collected in great numbers at Wymondham, "att a certen night and daie playe, which was there played the Satherday nyght being the viith daie of July," 1549, and held on the viith day and part of the viith daie, being Monday, which daie the people" were "to depart" and return home;⁴ they thus collected, with the view of availing themselves of the opportunity then afforded them of exercising such influence as they might have on the country people, who flocked thither, for the above-mentioned "playe," which was held in commemoration of the Translation of Thomas à Becket (July 7th), to whom the chapel⁵ standing in the midst of the town was dedicated. Great numbers having collected to witness the processions and interludes, the leaders held conferences with them, and gained over many; insomuch that a crowd went to one Hobartson's of Morley, about two miles off, and having thrown down certain hedges, returned to Wymondham again.

About this time the Protector put forth the following proclamation or letter,⁷ in order to stay the people with the hope that their grievances would be speedily and effectually redressed:—

"After our right hartie commendacions. Where[as] the Kinges Majesties commission w^{ch} certain articles therunto annexed, be presently addressed unto you for redresse of

¹ Blomefield.

² Heylin's Hist. of Reformation.

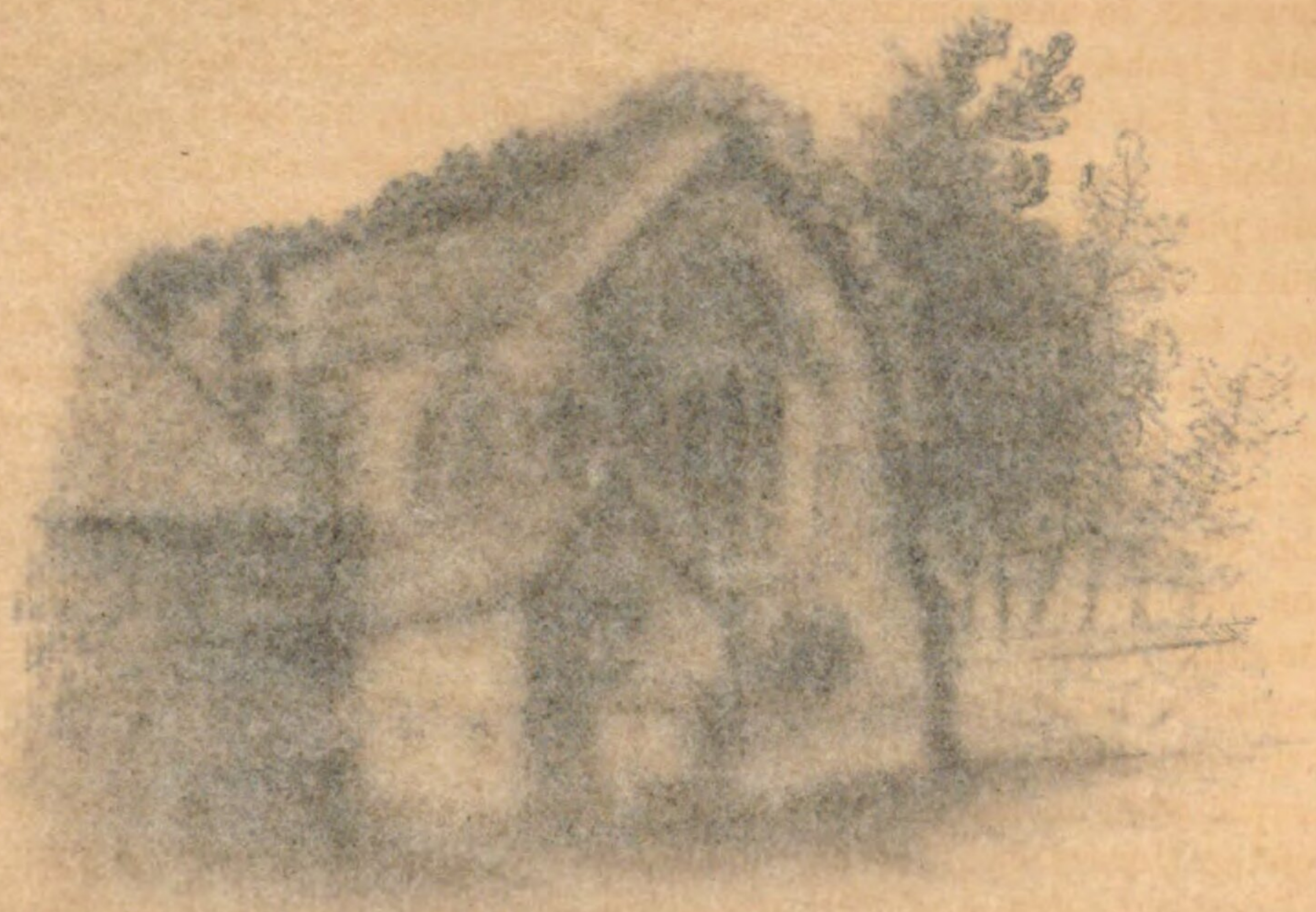
³ See p. 31.

⁴ "June" in Sotherton's MS. (Harl. MSS. No. 1576), but evidently an error.

⁵ Nicholas Sotherton's "The Commoyson in No. 1549."

⁶ This was subsequently the grammar-school; but has been long disused.

⁷ State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. viii. No. 18.



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⁷ State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. viii. No. 18.

unlawfull enclosures, decayes of howses, and for the reformacon of sundry other mysorders; albeit we doubt not but, considering the trust his Ma^{tie} hath specially reposed in you, you will both diligently and uprightly attend the execucon of the said commyssion; yet, for that the matters be of veary greate importance, and such as nedeth present reformacon; we have thought good by thies our lres¹ to pray and requyre you to assemble your selves together w^t as good expedicon as you may after the receipt of his Ma^{ties} said commyssion. And to th' intent your doinges may procede w^t out all suspicion, and the people conceyve some good hope of reformacon at your handes, we wold that as many of you as be in any of the cases to be reformed, do first, for examples sake, begyn to the reformacon of your selves: Wherby you shall both have the bettar credit, and may w^t the more boldnes proceede to the redresse of others. And as we nothing doubt of your good dyligence and wise proceedinges herein, so we trust you will use such indifferency in your doinges as no man shall have just cause in reason to complayn thereof. And so fare ye right hartely well ffrom

P. SOMERSET."

The instructions² printed this month, direct the Commissioners to inquire:

"If any person hath taken from any other their Commons, whereby they were able to breed and keep their cattle, and maintain their husbandry, as they were in times past.

"Item, if any Commons or high ways, have been enclosed, or imparked, contrary to right, and without due recompence: That then the same shall be reformed by the said Commissioners."

But, though the above instructions were carefully drawn up, and there may have been much willingness to carry them out, scarcely anything could have checked the turbulent spirit of the people of Norfolk; a new element, viz., personal hostility and private animosities, having now become mixed up in the tumults that had begun.

In the 31st year of Henry VIII.³ the parishioners and inhabitants of Wymondham, desirous of saving their noble church from destruction, petitioned the king to have certain parts of the church, which was to be destroyed as belonging to the monastery, granted to them, they paying for the bells, lead, &c., according to their value. But their good intent, though they paid the money, was frustrated by Serjeant

¹ *I. e.* "letters."

² State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. viii. No. 10.

³ Blomefield's History of Norfolk.

Flowerdew, who, in violation of this contract, carried off the lead,¹ and nearly demolished the choir, to the no little aggravation and annoyance of the townspeople. The bad feeling excited by these unwarrantable proceedings, had an opportunity of displaying itself when the disturbances connected with enclosures began; this will account for the Ketts² playing so prominent a part in them, for they were chiefly concerned in the purchase, and were very desirous to save the church, being at that time the principal inhabitants of the place; they never forgave Flowerdew, but endeavoured to do him and his family all the prejudice imaginable ever after.

Flowerdew, who lived at Hethersett, was vexed at having some of his hedges thrown down: he came to Wymondham and gave the insurgents 40*d.*³ on condition that they should do the same to an enclosure belonging to Robert Kett, which lay near the Fairstead, and had been common. Thus urged on, they hastened to Kett, told him what their designs were, and demanded that he should restore to his country, and to them, consulting, as they were, the "weal of the Commonalty" (to use an expression we have already had),⁴ the public land he had enclosed; that the hedges should be cast down; the quickset plucked up; and that what had been common before

¹ "During some excavations made at Wymondham in 1834, on clearing the Chapter-house to the level of its original floor, a mass of metal was found, sunk into and level with it, on the north side. It was with some difficulty removed, as it weighs about a ton. Its upper surface is a pointed oval (the usual shape of ecclesiastical seals), measuring 39 in. by 16½ in., its depth 8 in., the sides contracting towards the bottom, giving it the appearance of a boat. It was evidently run into the cavity in which it was found, as it had contracted in the process of cooling. A hole had been cast in the upper surface for the purpose of inserting a peg whenever it might be desirable to remove it, and the king's stamp had been twice struck on the surface, between which seven circles and two half-circles had been described, probably to express the quantity. It may be that this mass of metal, which proved to be lead, was part of that seized by Flowerdew; that he was prevented removing it by the king's officers putting their stamp upon it; and that in the confusion which succeeded it was covered up and forgotten."—*Archæologia*, xxvi. 269.

² For the Kett pedigree, see Appendix (E).

³ There is some little uncertainty as to the amount given by Flowerdew. Sir John Hayward, in his *Life of Edward VI.*, Harl. MSS. No. 6021, says it was *iijs. iiij*d.**, but in the printed copy it is *38*s.* 4*d.**

⁴ See p. 7.

should be common again. Kett easily allowed himself to be won over as a partisan in their schemes, and told them he would not only grant their request, but would stand by them to restrain and put down wholly the power of the nobility and gentry. He hoped, as he gave them to understand, he should shortly be able to bring about such a change that, as they had felt deeply their own misery, so those wretches should have equal occasion to feel deeply the bitter consequences of their pride and haughtiness. He set forth the many shameful things they had for some time past been called on to suffer, and the many injuries and calamities with which they had been harassed. "But be of good courage," continued he, "for power so excessive, avarice so great, and cruelty of every kind so unheard of, cannot but be hateful and accursed in the sight both of God and man. Through the covetousness of the gentry the State has suffered grievous injury; while we, by the loss of the commons, have in like manner been wronged; but we will demand,—and I promise you we will obtain it too,—we will demand that our wrongs be righted. As regards the field I have enclosed, I will make it common for all men; and not only so, but will make it common with my own hands at once. To bring my speech to an end, if any measure is for your advantage, rest assured I will ever second it to the utmost of my power, not as your companion, but as your general, your standard-bearer, and your chief: in a word, I will not only be present at your councils, but henceforth will preside at them."¹ Inflamed by his words,² they sur-

¹ "To frame them the better to his allure, Kett told them, both often and with vehement voice, how they were overtopped and trodden down by gentlemen and other their good masters, and put out of all possibility ever to recover foot; how, whilst rivers of riches ran into the landlords' coffers, they were pared to the quick, and fed upon pease and oats like beasts; how, being fleeced by these for private benefit, they were flayed by public services and customs, wherein, whilst the richer sort favoured themselves, they were gnawed to the very bones; how, the more to terrify and torture them to their minds, and to wind their necks more surely under their arm, their tyrannous masters did often implead, arrest, and cast them into prison, and thereby consume them to worse

² "His illi despiciatissimi viri, ac omnium qui unquam post homines natos exstiterunt turpissimi, vocibus accensi," &c.—*Neville*.

rounded him on all sides, and with many shouts testified the joy they felt at having gained so great an acquisition to their cause. They then spread themselves over the field before mentioned, and in accordance with their original design, filled up the ditches and laid it open. When they had done this, they seem to have felt that they had made a good beginning; that now the power of the oppressor would cease, and freedom henceforth be their portion; and, urged on partly by their own daring and present success, and partly by the exhortations of their leader, as Kett now was, whose words acted like fire on their inflammable tempers, they looked upon disturbing the peace as a small matter, and became eager to produce such a change in the government of the country as might be beneficial to themselves.

The encouragement they met with from Kett "soe animated the harts of such of them into whome Rebellion was easily entrid, that they proceeded further to doe the lyke, and specially in Flowerdew's close,"¹ by whom this levelling of enclosures had been so injudiciously encouraged; he having bribed them, as we have just seen, to level those of Kett, at whose instigation, most probably, they again took their way to Hethersett, in order there to "doe the lyke." Flowerdew endeavoured to dissuade them from their tumultuous proceedings; but finding this of no avail, and vexed by the mischief the people were doing, in addition to what they had done him on their former visit, he inveighed with much bitterness against Kett, and accused him of having collected this wild and rebellious mob, calling him a wicked and bad man, a pest to his country, and the leader of a parcel of vagabonds. He endeavoured to resist, but all his resistance was of no

than nothing; how they did palliate these pilleries with the fair pretences of authority and law; 'fine workmen, I warrant you, who can so closely carry their dealings, that men only can then discern them when it is beyond their power to prevent them;' how harmless counsels were fit for tame fools; but for them, who had already stirred, there was no hope but in adventuring boldly: and so, by oft and earnest repeating of these and the like speeches, and by bearing a confident countenance in all his actions, the vulgar took him to be both valiant and wise, and a fit man to be their commander, being glad that they had found any captain to follow."—*Sir John Hayward's Life of Edward VI.*

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

avail; for with much shouting and clamour they levelled his hedges and filled up the ditches. Having finished this matter, they surrounded Kett, and demanded of him that he would solemnly pledge himself to stand their friend, as he had already promised to do: he, for "lacke of Grace, and pretending to doe good thereby to the Commonwealth, sayd, hee would assist them with body and goods;"¹ and further exhorted them to be of good cheer, and to follow him as the author of their freedom, and the righter of their wrongs. "The office," said he,² "which the State has bestowed upon me, I will never lay down, until you have obtained your rights. Your deliverance and safety are with me objects of the greatest interest, and to obtain these I refuse not to sacrifice my substance, yea, my very life itself, so highly do I esteem the cause in which we are engaged:" "whereuppon"³ of a small company, att the first not above five or six persons, they encreased to servants and vacabones,⁴ that they would not be resysted."⁴

With Robert Kett was associated his brother William, a butcher⁵ of Wymondham, who, in consequence of his extreme hardihood and courage, was highly esteemed. With these commanders they formed themselves into a camp, at the report of which numbers of idle and desperate fellows, and great crowds of servants and runagates, came flocking from all parts to join them. Kett thought he was now supported by a sufficient force to warrant his acting more boldly than he had as yet done: accordingly, having committed much havoc at Wymondham, Hethersett, and the adjacent villages, he on the 10th of July² crossed the river at Cringleford, and came to Bowthorpe, where, having cast down certain hedges, and received great additions to the number of his followers, he directed them to encamp for the night. Hither Sir Edmund Windham, Knt., High Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, came and proclaimed them rebels, and commanded them, in the king's name, to depart peaceably to their own homes: had

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² Neville.

³ *I. e.* "vagabonds."

⁴ The accompanying sketch represents the Oak at Hethersett, under which Kett stood when delivering the above address.

⁵ Described as a "mercier" in the king's writ to the judges.



KETTS OAK AT HATHENDLE

See P. 30.

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KETT'S OAK AT HETHERSETT.

See P. 30.

not, however, his horsemanship been better than his rhetoric, himself had not departed the place; for, being greatly offended at his speech, they attempted to seize him; but, as he was well horsed, he brake through those that had compassed him in, and, escaping from them, hastened with all speed to Norwich, about two miles distant. The same night a great many people from the city and country came to them with such weapons as they had succeeded in collecting. And now the rebels began to "play their pranks,"¹ threatening to burn the house and deface the Dove-Cote (formerly a chapel,² before it was turned from a house of prayer to a den of thieves), of Master Corbet's, of Sprowston, committing many other outrages wherever they came.

On the preceding day, July 9th, they had thrown down the quickset hedge and filled up the ditches that enclosed the common pasture of the City, called the Town Close,³ which hedge, &c., kept in the neat cattle of the poor freemen of the City, which were there pastured and looked after by the neatherd, who received of every owner, by custom, a halfpenny for every beast kept there; and so that fence which, by good and provident advice of their forefathers, had been raised for the common profit of the City, was thus cast down by the very persons whose interest it was made for. Scarcely had they thrown down the ditch in the upper part of it than very many seditious people, to whose ears rumour had made known what was taking place, escaped secretly from the City, and "partlie uppon former talke att the Game aforesayde, and partly uppon sodeyne admonishment, were easly assentive to that Rebellion."⁴

¹ Blomefield.

² The following extract from King Edward's Book of Sales relates to this chapel:—

Chantry, College, &c.	Yearly Value.	Purchase.	Purchaser.
Chauntry of S. Mary Magdalene in Sprouston, in the county of Norf. & divers other lands, &c.....	£ s. d. 9 0 6 2 19 6	£ s. d. 276 0 0	Rob. Southwell kt. and John Corbet.

—*Strype's Mem. Eccles.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 407.

³ See City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 311b, App. (I).

⁴ Nicholas Sotherton.

The City authorities, headed by the Mayor, Thomas Codd, felt themselves called upon to interfere as soon as they heard of the outrages committed on the Town Close. The Mayor, Aldermen, and principal citizens assembled in the Council Chamber, July 9th and 10th, and, as the following items show, did their best to meet the difficulties in which they had so unexpectedly become involved :¹—

“ In primis the ix day of July to Edmond Pynchyn for
his costs rydyng to London in post and from thense
to Wynsore to the Kyngs cownsell w^t letters con-
cernyng y^e rysyng of y^e said pepyll } — „ xl „ — ”

For this journey he subsequently received an additional recompense :²—

“ Itm. to Edmond Pynchyn for certen costs payd by hym
ov^r and above xl^s dd³ to hym by the accomptant y^e
ix daye of July beyng the fyrste day of the
Comocon he than rydyng w^t letters to the Kyngs
cownsell and for hys payns in y^t Jorney } — „ x „ — ”

“ Itm. to John Revell the young^r for an horse sadyll and
brydyll for the said Pynchyn } — „ vij „ — ”

“ Itm. p^d to another man for his payns and costes and
horse hyer rydyng w^t letters for the same cause to
S^r Roger Townesend..... } — „ v „ iiij ”

“ Itm. to the iij^d man for leke causes rydyng w^t lettyrs to
Syr Wyllm Paston Knyght⁴ } — „ ij „ — ”

Having thus sent for aid, they, with the Mayor, proceeded to the Town Close, July 9th, in order to dissuade the insurgents from their enterprise. On his arrival, the Mayor found them committing all kinds of enormities, and indulging in every species of excess. He tried, with money and fair words, to win them from their purpose and induce them to return peaceably home; but they turned a deaf ear to all his offers. He accordingly returned to the City. After his departure they began to think, and were further con-

¹ City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 301, App. (I).

² Id. p. 313b.

³ *I. e.* “delivered.”

⁴ Sir William Paston resided at Oxnead, near Aylsham.

vinced of this by certain men coming to them from the City with small boughs in their hands (which was the sign agreed upon), that if they remained any longer scattered one from another, they would without difficulty be overcome: it seemed, therefore, very desirable that they should all be collected into one place, and no longer continue dispersed, as hitherto they had been. With this view they proceeded to Eaton Wood, which, after a careful survey, they found unfit and inconvenient for pitching their camp: it was then unanimously agreed that they should go at once to Mousehold Heath and make that their fixed abode. Without delay¹ they sent to the Mayor messengers, who said "That they were desirous of passing quietly through the City, because that way was the easiest and most convenient for them;² they would not do harm or injury to any one, and hoped he would allow them to do as they proposed."³ The Mayor replied, "Since the disposition with which they were actuated towards the State was decidedly hostile, he would not allow them to pass through the City." He then upbraided them with "many sharpe and bitter checks for their disorders,"⁴ as men that were seditious, and desirous of disturbing and throwing all things into confusion. He further endeavoured to deter them from their enterprise, by telling them, as they would soon find by experience, that such

¹ Nevylle.

² "For that theyr mest (*sic*) way lay through the Cytte they crauid Lyscens" to pass through it.—*Nicholas Sotherton*.

³ A similar application had been made by the insurgents in Yorkshire, as appears from the following document, preserved in the Treas. of Rec. of Exchequer:—

"MY LORD MAYR OF YORK CETTY,

"MY Lord Mayre and all the commons. We have us commendyd unto youe and Require youe to send us word by this same berer or yet by whom please youe to Newburgh to morrow nexte aganste nyght whether youe wooll peaseable suffer us to passe throgh this the King's citie with your favore or not, if case soo require and at Newborowe at the White Lyon shall a post be redy from us to receive your answer. And thus fare you well ffrom Beverley this morning in hast.

"by the commons assembled ther."

⁴ Nicholas Sotherton.

attempts would most surely have a bad ending. His words only made them more resolute than when they had come to him. Being thus disappointed, they spent that night in Eaton Wood.

The same day (July 9th), when the aldermen and principal citizens had again met in council, the Mayor related what had taken place between himself and the rebels.

The following item ¹—

“For drynke in the Counsell Chambyr the ix and x days
of July } — „ — „ vj”

shows that the deliberation thereupon ensuing was very long, and that it continued during the following day, there being much diversity of opinion as to what was best to be done. Some thought no time should be lost, but that they should be, if possible, dispersed at once; since, if they were not, it was likely they would, under the influence of their excited feelings, bring ruin upon the whole county. Others, however, thought that while the affair was one of the greatest danger, it was one that needed the most careful consideration and the most prudent counsels, to bring matters to a happy termination. “It is very true,” they said,² “that this disposition to be quick in resisting them proceeds from a high and courageous spirit; still we cannot help thinking it a rash and dangerous course to adopt,—in fact, just that course, the whole praise or blame of which would depend upon the result, which at the best was doubtful, and most frequently was unfavourable. Wherefore, we advise that you fortify the city, appoint watch and ward, and dispose the citizens along the walls and in all suitable places. And, since by law it is forbidden to collect an armed force without the King’s command, we think no attempt should be made to put the rebels down, but that we ought to wait until we learn what his wishes are, and receive authority from him to act.”

This proposal was acceded to, as the one most suitable to the peculiar and trying circumstances in which they were placed. It

¹ City Chamberlain’s Accompts, p. 301.

² Nevylle.

might, to the more high-spirited and energetic of the citizens, savour of timidity, and seem a course unworthy of them, as intrusted with the government and preservation of the city and its inhabitants; it was one, too, that might excite a suspicion in high quarters, of their being inclined to favour the insurgents, of "the towne being confederat with them,"¹ and of their failing to do their duty in suppressing the commotion; but the cautious rather than bold policy prevailed, and no other steps were taken than those already mentioned.

On the 11th of July, Sir Roger Wodehouse, Knt.,² taking his household servants with him and three carts, two laden with beer and a third with provisions, followed the rebels, with the view of endeavouring to dissuade them from their undertaking, imagining that they being his near neighbours³ would have had respect to his kindness, and have minded his persuasions; but, on the contrary, they seized him, stripped him of his apparel, took his horses and all he had from him, cruelly tugged and cast him into a ditch of one Morrice's, of Nether-Earlham, by Hellesdon Bridge, and would there have slain him, had it not been for his servant's courage, who could not, however, free him from their hands; but his life was spared, and he was carried off as a prisoner and detained in custody by the insurgents.

The following extract from the Wodehouse's Pedigree contains a poetical version of this affair:

" His son Sir Roger was, that Little hight,⁴
 Who what he wants in bulk makes up in spright;⁵
 Which caused him to resist the Rebell rout
 Of Kett and his comrades, who were about

¹ Journal of Edward VI.

² Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 759.

³ He resided at Kimberley, about four miles from Wymondham.—"The first seat here belonged to the Fastolff family, and stood on the west side of the village, until Sir John Wodehouse, who married the heiress of Sir John Fastolff, demolished it, and erected a moated hall, with a tower, at the west end of the park. * * * Queen Elizabeth, in her progress through Norfolk, in 1578, lodged here, where a noble throne (still preserved) was erected for her reception, covered with crimson velvet, and richly embroidered with gold."—*White's Norfolk Directory: Kimberley.*

⁴ *I. e.* "was called."

⁵ *I. e.* "spirit."

To maim him, but's ¹ man Edgerly ² the stout
 Him rescued, whilst couragiously he fought.—
 His servant's valiant act and loyaltye
 He recompenced with forty pounds in Fee :
 Which at this day they enjoy, and still inherit,
 And to the house still keep their honest spirit." ³

The same day, the insurgents, having failed to obtain "the Lyscens" they had "cravid" to pass through "the Cytte," the granting of "which, for want of warrant therefore from the Prynce, not knowing what might chance, was adjudged a doughbtful enterpryse, until further commission from the Prince," ⁴ determined to pass over Hellesdon Bridge: its narrowness proving a hindrance, especially for their horses and waggons, they threw into the river great quantities of timber, especially faggots and trunks of trees, by means of which they, with all their horses and baggage, speedily passed over. That night they spent at Drayton, and the next day, July 12th, proceeded towards Mousehold, pulling down all the hedges they met with. They also carried out their threat, given shortly before, of defacing the Dove Cote, that had formerly been a chapel, belonging to John Corbet, of Sprowston, whose goods they also spoiled; and wherever they came they did the like.

This destruction of the Dove Cote might, at first sight, seem to have been only a piece of wanton mischief; but in reality dove-cotes were considered as grievances, as appears from the following extract from Kett's petition to the King: ⁵

"We pray that no man under the degre of a knyght or esquier, kepe a dowe house, except it hath byn of an ould anchyent costome;"

and their destruction of this particular one was an example of their own rough way of remedying this grievance.

Having reached Mousehold, they took possession of the hill called

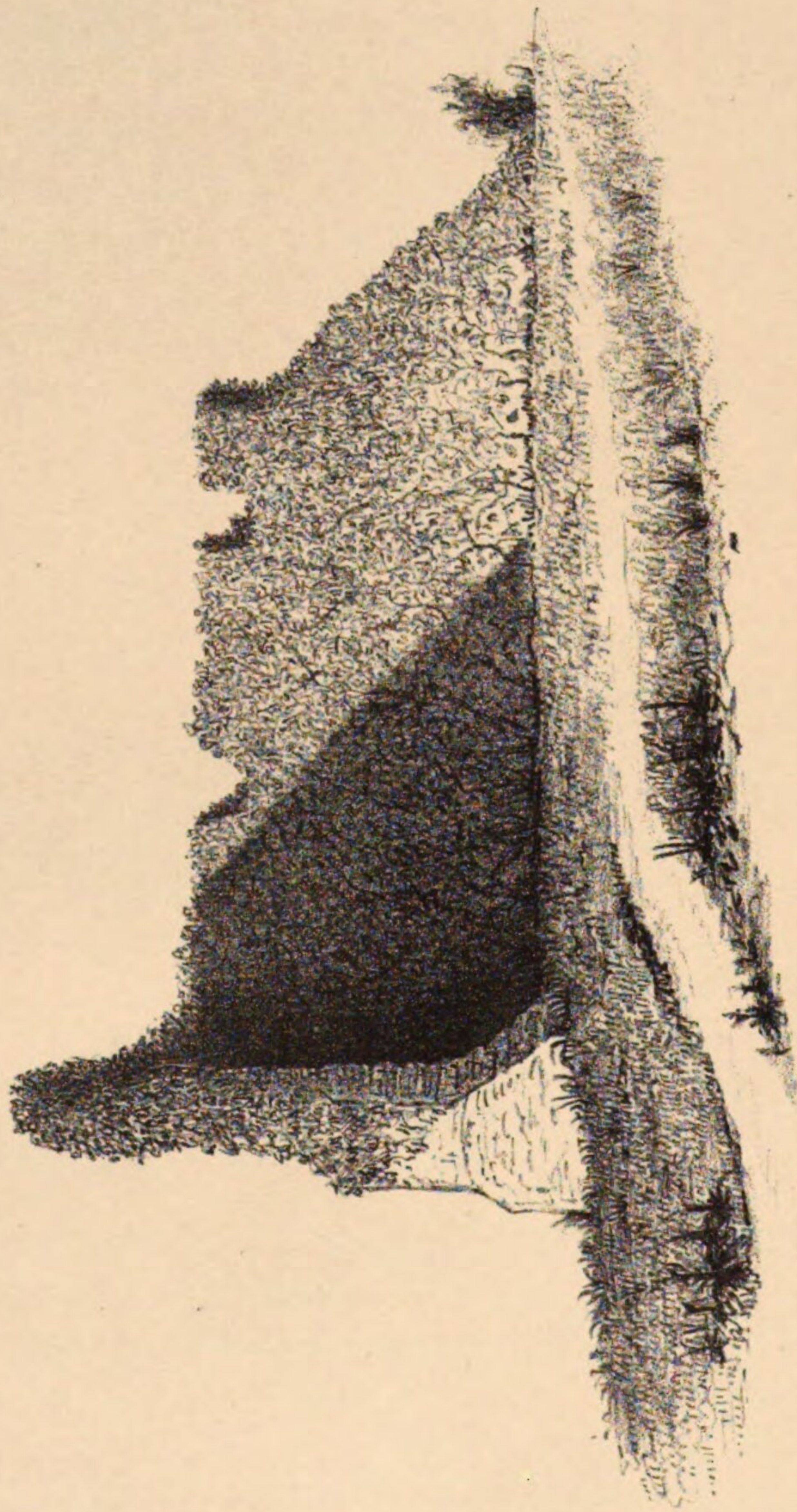
¹ *I. e.* "but his."

² The last of this man's descendants died about 1730, and the estate lay in Runhall.

³ Blomefield, vol. i. p. 759.

⁴ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁵ Harl. MSS. No. 304, fol. 75.



KETT'S CASTLE.

See P. 37 & App. (F.)

Mount Surrey,¹ "for that there uppon, in the place sometime called St. Leonards, there was a place after the manner of a pilgrimage,² for resort of people for dyvers diseases, in which place the late Erke of Saccy dyseceacid had buildyd a very pleasant, large, and goodly place, calling it Mount Surreye."³ This hill is separated from Norwich by the river Wensum, which flows at the foot of it: towards the south it was bounded by Thorpe and Thorpe wood, and towards the north and east lay Mousehold Heath,⁴ extending three or four miles in length and breadth. The discontented, the desolate and oppressed, those for whom no man had cared, had now their "camp," as such gatherings were called: and having this, great numbers from Norfolk, Suffolk, and other parts, joined them daily: blazing beacons and pealing bells spreading the tidings that the men of Norfolk had raised a standard, round which all such might gather; and far and wide was the rumour sent, and thronging multitudes came pouring in from quiet villages and market towns,—the peaceful abodes of humble rustics and simple-minded farmers, hitherto content with complaining, but now roused to action, as the distant beacon sent its glare across the landscape, or as the village bells, hitherto associated only with days of holy rest, and happy times forgotten now in the wild storm of social excitement in which they were living, summoned them away to join the bold spirits gathering on Mousehold Heath.

In order⁵ "to have a fayre shew and similitude of well doings, they

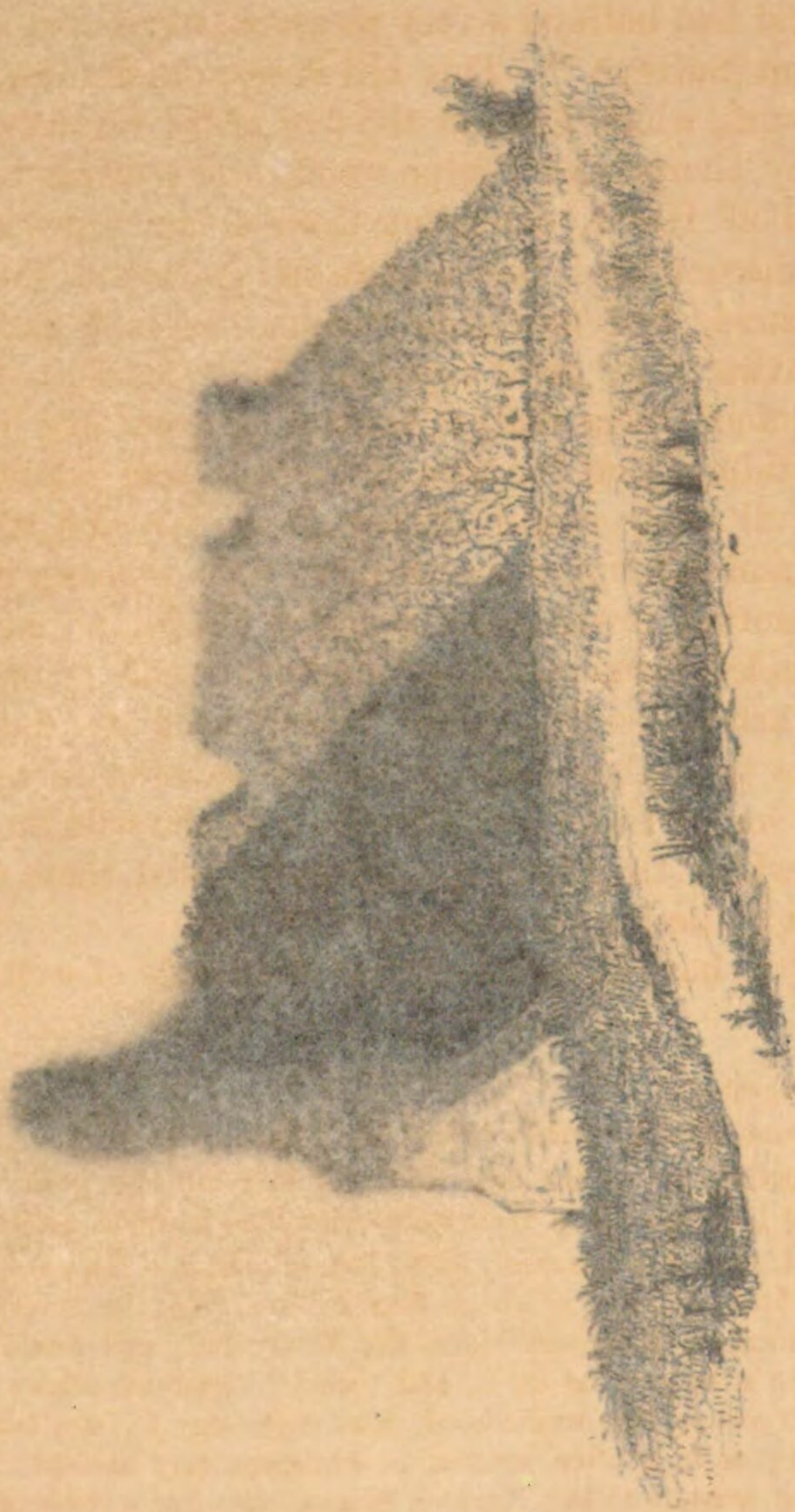
¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² For an account of St. Leonard's Priory, see Appendix (F).

³ "Which standing uppon the brow of an hy hyll had the Tyver (sic) beneath yt, betwixt the City of Norwich in the West syde thereof."—*Nicholas Sotherton*.

⁴ "Mousehold, or as it is commonly called Muscel-hill, is a large heath now, but was most of it wood formerly, and is about four or five miles in length and breadth. Alexander Nevylle calls it Muscosus Mons, the Mowsey Hill, and would have it called Moss-wold, from the moss growing on it, and "wold" signifying a hilly country void of wood; but as it is certain this was a wood, that etymology will not bear. I take the proper name to be, as it is often written in sentences very ancient, Monke-hold, it belonging in a great measure to the Norwich monks, who had a cowherd to keep their cattle there."—*Blomefield*.

⁵ Nicholas Sotherton.



KETTLE CASTLE.

Sao P 37 & App (F)

Mount Surrey,¹ "for that there uppon, in the place sometime called St. Leonards, there was a place after the manner of a pilgrimage,² for resort of people for dyvers diseases, in which place the late Erle of Surrey dysceacid had buildyd a very pleasant, large, and goodly place, calling it Mount Surreye."³ This hill is separated from Norwich by the river Wensum, which flows at the foot of it: towards the south it was bounded by Thorpe and Thorpe wood, and towards the north and east lay Mousehold Heath,⁴ extending three or four miles in length and breadth. The discontented, the desolate and oppressed, those for whom no man had cared, had now their "camp," as such gatherings were called; and having this, great numbers from Norfolk, Suffolk, and other parts, joined them daily; blazing beacons and pealing bells spreading the tidings that the men of Norfolk had raised a standard, round which all such might gather; and far and wide was the rumour sent, and thronging multitudes came pouring in from quiet villages and market towns,—the peaceful abodes of humble rustics and simple-minded farmers, hitherto content with complaining, but now roused to action, as the distant beacon sent its glare across the landscape, or as the village bells, hitherto associated only with days of holy rest, and happy times forgotten now in the wild storm of social excitement in which they were living, summoned them away to join the bold spirits gathering on Mousehold Heath.

In order⁵ "to have a fayre shew and similitude of well doinge, they

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² For an account of St. Leonard's Priory, see Appendix (F).

³ "Which standing uppon the brow of an hy hyll had the Tyver (*sic*) beneth yt, betwixt the City of Norwich in the West syde thereof."—*Nicholas Sotherton*.

⁴ "Mousehold, or as it is commonly called Mussel-hill, is a large heath now, but was most of it wood formerly, and is about four or five miles in length and breadth. Alexander Nevylle calls it Muscosus Mons, the Mossy Hill, and would have it called Moss-wold, from the moss growing on it, and "wold" signifying a hilly country void of wood; but as it is certain this was a wood, that etymology will not bear. I take the proper name to be, as it is often written in evidences very ancient, Monks-hold, it belonging in a great measure to the Norwich monks, who had a cowherd to keep their cattle there."—*Blomefield*.

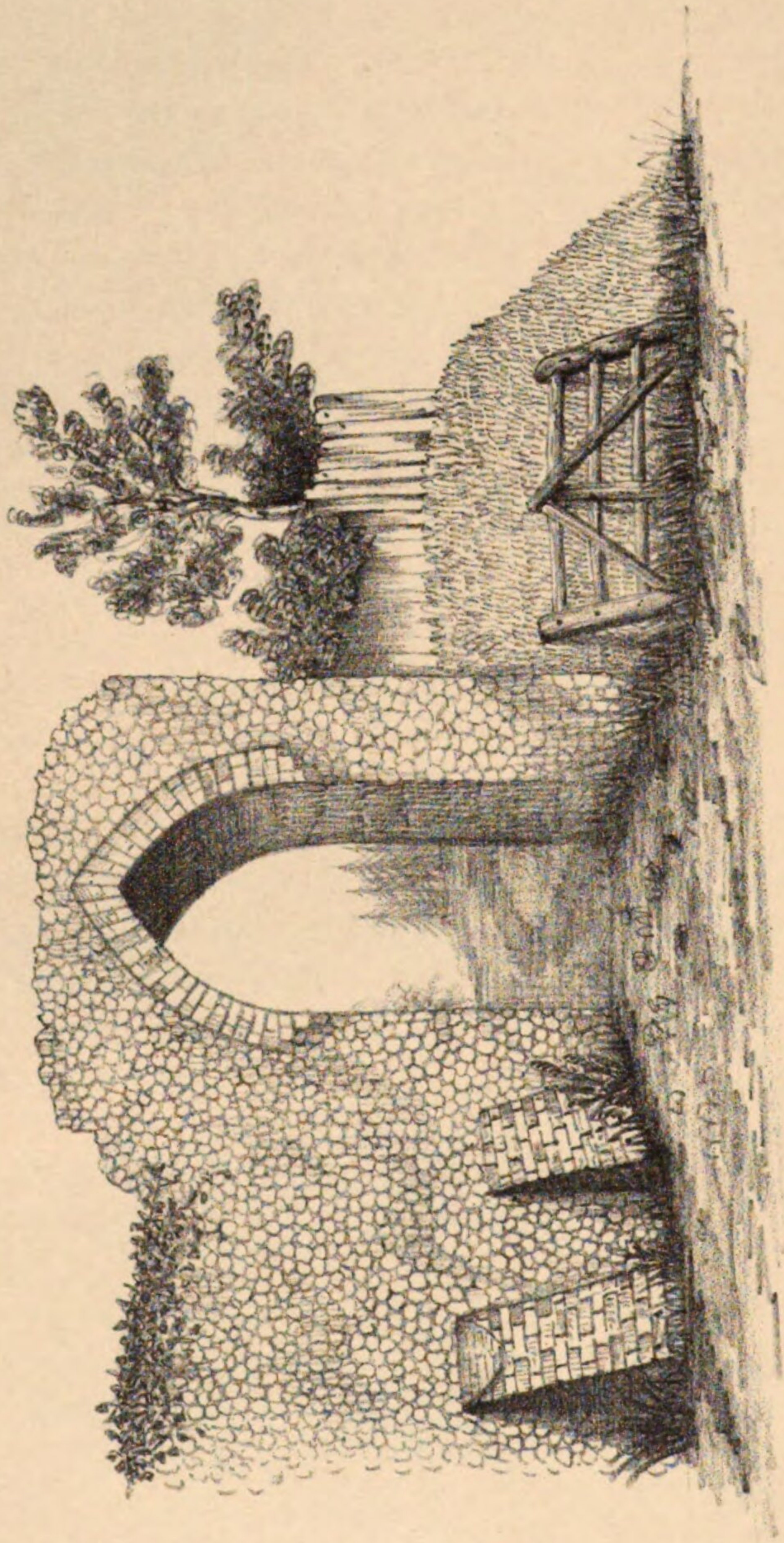
⁵ Nicholas Sotherton.

first procurd a Priyst to mynister thyer morninge and evening prayer in the English tonge, then newly begon¹ to bee frequentlyd:" their chaplain was Thomas Coniers, minister of St. Martin's, on the Palace Plain, who was constrained by them to pray to God that their enterprise might prosper. A strange proceeding this, if we are to regard these men as the ready perpetrators of every species of crime, the daring violators of all laws, human and divine, the followers of the most abandoned wretch that ever lived, as Nevylle would have us believe. Such a step as this showed plainly that the leaders of this movement were thoroughly in earnest; that so far from being anxious about "the old religion," they accepted and availed themselves of the "new forme" recently established; "the iron had entered into their soul," and stirred their inmost nature; they were determined to act, to do their part in obtaining redress; but feeling that this would be of no avail without God's blessing, they committed their cause to Him, and morning and evening was His help invoked. At the same time, there is no difficulty in believing that many amongst that vast multitude, instead of being actuated by any sentiments of this kind, would regard the present only as a favourable opportunity for indulging in those excesses, which always accompany popular tumults. They also joined to their cause, or rather made them in appearance join, divers persons who were esteemed for religion, doctrine, virtue, and innocency of life; among whom were Robert Watson, Thomas Codd, mayor, and Thomas Aldrich, of Mangreen Hall, Swardeston.

Of Robert Watson, it was recorded in the Norwich Roll,² that he was "a newe Preacher," one in great estimation with all men, whose persuasions they somewhat liked, and therefore chose him to give them spiritual counsel, and to be as an umpire in all consultations, by whose counsel and advice Coniers was procured, who both morning and evening called them to prayer, and the preacher gave them many good

¹ The Order of Common Prayer was drawn up in English, and "prepared to be confirmed and enacted by the Parliament that sat Nov. 24th, 1548; when the use of it was by law enjoined, and to commence at Whitsuntide following, 1549."—*Strype's Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. book I. ch. 2.

² Now, unfortunately, no longer in existence.



ST LEONARD'S PRIORY.

See P. 37.

...hoping by this means to recall them, whom afterwards
...Mr. Watson the undermentioned
...was directed :

...of July to pursevant
...Grove, who brought a Commission to Mr. Watson
...under the great seal of England for reformation of
...dyt' thyngs } — „ xl „ —”

...arrival of this commission—probably the one promised by
...at the commencement of the month—was an event of no
...importance, as appears from the next item :¹

...by Pyndhys wyff for brede and drynke in the
...Chambyr that day and for Candyll lyght
...and byneth, the Cownsell syttyng all that day
...till after mydayght..... } — „ — „ vj”

...imagine, from the exceeding importance of this docu-
...be preserved among the City muniments; but it is no
...existence. After the delivery of this, the pursuivant re-
...the following night.²

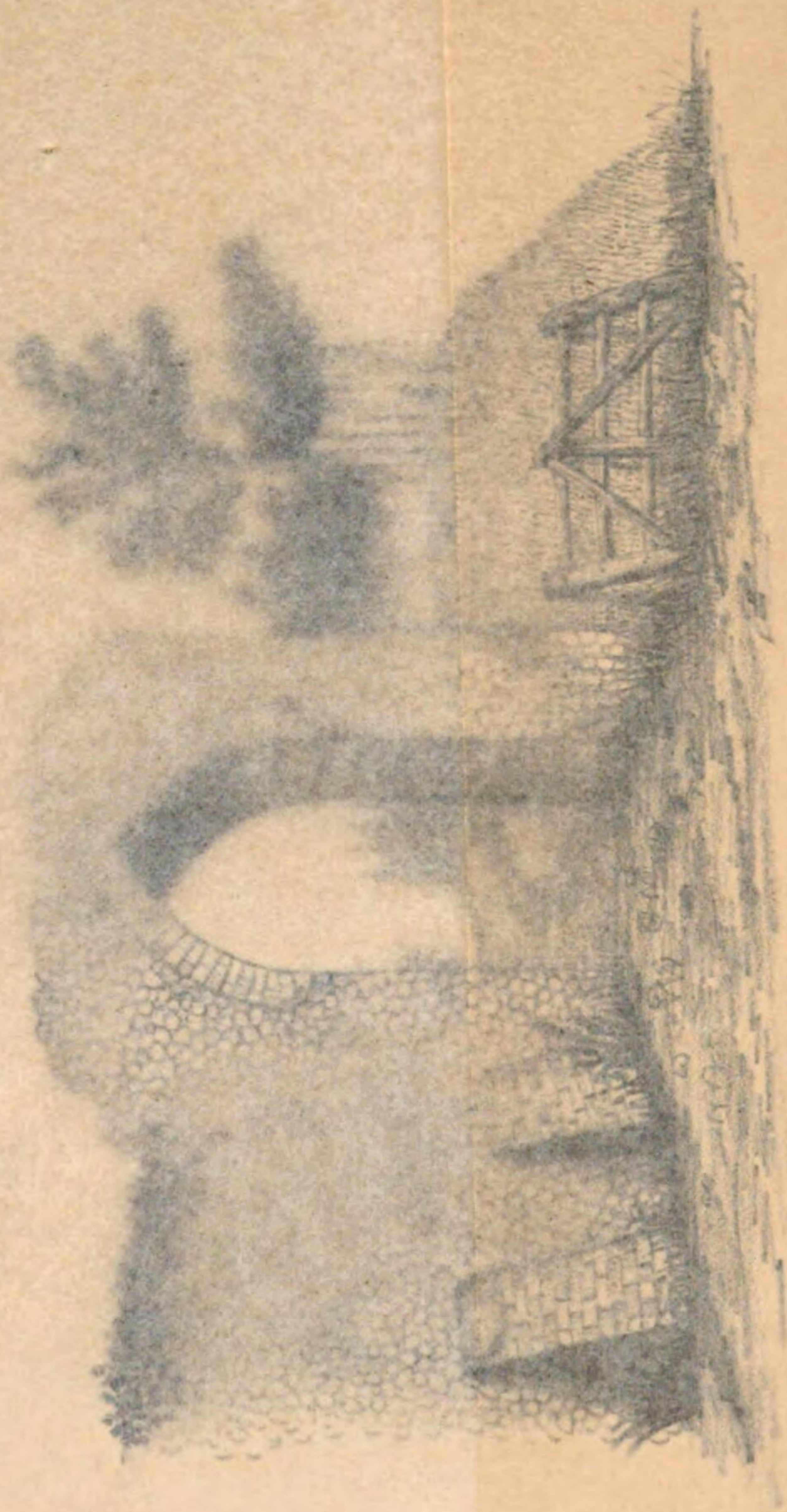
...and y' heres to brynge y^e forsayd purse- }
...the xiiij daye at nyght } — „ iiij „ —”

...can be connected with the rebellion only upon
...that “long Lawrence,” being the Council’s messenger,
...so many errands that they could not do otherwise than
...activity :

...the same daye to long Lawrence for a payer of Shoes }
...by command of the Cownsell..... } — „ — „ xij”

¹ City Chamberlain's Accounts, p. 301.

² Id. p. 303.



ST LEONARD'S PRIORY.

See P. 37.

admonitions, hoping by this means to recall them, whom afterwards they imprisoned. It was to this Mr. Watson the undermentioned commission was directed :¹

" Itm. gaf in reward the xij day of July to pursevant
Grove, who brought a Comysyon to Mr. Watson
under the gret sele of Ingland for reformacon of
dyv^s thyngs } — „ xl „ —"

The arrival of this commission—probably the one promised by the Protector at the commencement of the month—was an event of no slight importance, as appears from the next item :¹

" Itm. to Pynchyns wyff for brede and drynke in the
Cownsell Chambyr that day and for Candyll lyght
above and byneth, the Cownsell syttyng all that day
and nyght tyll after mydnyght..... } — „ — „ vj "

We might imagine, from the exceeding importance of this document, it would be preserved among the City muniments; but it is no longer in existence. After the delivery of this, the pursuivant returned to London the following night.²

" Itm. for a man and ij horses to brynge y^e forsayd purse-
vant to Attylburgh the xiiij daye at nyght } — „ iiij „ —"

The next item can be connected with the rebellion only upon the supposition that "long Lawrence," being the Council's messenger, was sent on so many errands that they could not do otherwise than reward his activity :

" Itm. the same daye to long laurens for a payer of Shoes } — „ — „ xij "
by comandm^t of the Cownsell..... }

¹ City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 301.

² Id. p. 303.

The other two associated with Kett were Thomas Codd,¹ the mayor, and Thomas Aldrich,² "a man of good wisdom and honesty, and welbeloved."³ These three were compelled, much against their will, to be present at their councils, and to undertake, in conjunction with Kett, the administration of their affairs, a circumstance which subsequently proved very advantageous, "for that att ech time the said Kett wolde by his sinister will with his adherents command eny unlawfull things to bee done in the contry, the seid Thomas Aldrich did let and pacifie the controversies therein. And allsoe the sayd Ket &c. willed the like doing in Norwich that did Thomas Codd lett; and in that they together agreid not in, that did Robert Watson, the preacher, by his perswasion lett."⁴ And though the proceedings of Kett were of an "inordinate" character, "in commanding precepts to attach Gentlemen prisoners; others to provide viand for theyr returne, that is bred corne, and drinke, some to bee baken and breud;⁵ others to goe in comyssion to lay open common growndes; others to encrease theyr numbers: yet in these things the seid Mr. Codd, Mr. Aldrich, and the seid Mr. Wattson, were partley faine to agree, lest they being out of favour and place, others might come to bring all things out of frame that now might partly bee well framid. And the rather they assentid to keepe the people in better order, during answer from the Prynce what ells they might furder doe."

Besides this Great Camp, as that on Mousehold was called, there was a less one formed at Rising Chase, in the neighbourhood of Castle Rising,⁶ by the insurgents of Lynn, Downham, and other places.

¹ For an account of Thomas Codd, see Appendix (G).

² "Thomas Aldrich, mayor in 1507 and 1516. He resided at Mangreen [Hall,] and was much esteemed by all classes. During Kett's Rebellion he was of great service to the City, frequently acting as mediator between the rebels and the citizens. In 1559 he was buried in Swardstone church."—*Norf. Archæol.* vol. iii. p. 187.

³ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ In the Appendix (H) I have given "The Town Accounts of North Elmham, relative to Kett's Rebellion," wherein mention is repeatedly made of provisions sent to the Camp, and evidently for the use of the rebels.

⁶ Blomefield (vol. ii. p. 158) considers this gathering at Castle Rising to have been preceded by one that took place before Kett's Rebellion; but his arguments are so unsatisfactory, that, unwilling as I am to contradict so good an authority, I have arrived

"1549. John Marcanter Mayor. This year was St. James's Church pulled down, and the Commons of Norfolk did rebell, and kept their Camp at Moushould besyde Norwidge and Rysing besyde Linn. Captain Kett was the Chief of the Rebelles."¹

"Ite. pd. the same daye (July 15) to Mr. Powte that broughte to Dounam campe, iiij^d."²

With regard to this camp, it may be observed that there is still an oak³ at Ryston, about three miles from Downham, called Kett's Oak, from those who afterwards joined Kett on Mousehold having encamped about it; these, with others from the neighbouring places, collected at Castle Rising, but, by the active exertions of the gentry, were speedily dispersed. They re-assembled at Watton, and remained there about a fortnight, stopping the passage across the river at Brandon Ferry and Thetford; at length, by Kett's order, they joined him at his Great Camp.

At the same time, there were disturbances at Cambridge and in Suffolk. At Cambridge,⁴ July 10th, a hundred persons or more met together with a drum, and proceeded to pull down the fences of a close at Barnwell, belonging to Bailiff Smyth. The Mayor went after them to prevent mischief, and was followed by the Vice-chancellor and

at the conclusion he was mistaken. He mentions the collections in the City Churches, and the fire in Conisford, as proving the correctness of his assertion; but it may be answered, though the account of these collections precedes "Other mynute expenses hade and p^d betwyxt mydsom^r and myhelmes," and so favour the idea of their having been made before midsummer, 1549; on examination it will be found that they follow "receipts for the last half year" ending at Michaelmas 1549, and payments that were made when the rebellion had come to an end. While the "fire" is mentioned several times, and is distinctly attributed to the rebels; as will be seen by referring to the Appendix (I), City Chamberlain's Accompts, pp. 287, 304, 304b, 305b.

¹ Copied from a vellum roll of the mayors of Lynn, prepared in the year 1597.

² Household Accounts of Lestrange of Hunstanton.—*Archæol.* xxv. p. 557.

³ The following extract relating to this oak, taken from the "Magna Britannia," vol. iii. p. 348, 1724, is evidently incorrect. "Between this place and West Dereham, our chorographers place Kett's Oak, or as he called it, the *Oak of Reformation*, where Coniers, the chaplain of the rebels, read prayers and preached, and their court set to administer justice and regulate disorders. Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards preached to the rebels under this tree, and exhorted them to be quiet, and lay down their arms, but it had almost cost him his life."

⁴ Annals of Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 36,—by C. H. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.

Heads. The Vice-chancellor and Mayor met twice that day in St. Mary's Church, respecting the business, "and at length were hardlye pacyfyed."¹ On the 13th of July, Somerset² wrote to the Vice-chancellor and Mayor, and, having commended their "wyse dealing" with those who had been "attempting disclosures and remedies of their owne greifes," urged them so to behave as might "best tend to the comon quiett." From the Treasurer's accounts, in which is mentioned the charge "for carying out of Gallows and a newe rope," it seems that though some of the insurgents were pardoned, in compliance with Cecil's request,³ yet that others paid the extreme penalty of the law. While with regard to the people of Suffolk, the following letter from the Council to the Princess Mary⁴ shows not only that the Devonshire rising⁵ was known by them, but also that it was supposed they were encouraged by Mary, whose residence at Kenninghall⁶ would easily have enabled her to countenance the attempts of those seditiously disposed, if she had been inclined to do so.⁷

"After our due commendations unto your Grace: the same doth understand (we doubt nott) the seditious assemblies, tumults and

¹ Dr. Lamb's Cambridge Documents, 119, 120, quoted by C. H. Cooper, Esq., vol. ii. p. 36.

² For Somerset's Letter, see Appendix (K).

³ For Somerset's letter to "Cicill," see Appendix (L).

⁴ State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. viii. No. 31. July xvij. 1549.

⁵ See Appendix (M) for a concise account of this rising.

⁶ It was this circumstance that "gave some umbrage to these jealousies against her."—*Strype*.

⁷ On the attainder of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, Kenninghall palace was seized by Henry the Eighth, and settled on the then Lady Mary, who kept her court here.

Afterwards it was in Queen Elizabeth's hands, who was often here: she it was that ordered her tenant Chapman, who then lived in Fersfield Lodge, to lay out the way now called Chapman's Entry, out of her own ground, the old way being so strait that the Queen could not conveniently pass through it: it is now disused, and is called Queen Bess's Lane, from her being scratched with the brambles in riding through it, as tradition tells us. It continued in the Norfolk family as their capital seat in this county, till early in the eighteenth century, when it was pulled down, and the materials sold for a trifle, with which great numbers of chimnies and walls in the neighbourhood are built, as is evident from the Mowbrays' and Arundels' arms which are upon the bricks."—*Blomefield's Norfolk: Kenninghall*.

other unlawfull doings of many in sundry places of the realme directly against God, against the allegeance to the King's majesty, and the Common Wealth¹ of the realme; for the stay whereof, lyke as we have doon and from tyme to tyme will by the ayd of God doo all that in us may be; so nothing doubting but your Grace is of the same good will and disposition, we coud not but advertise you of that we have heard of certain servants of yours, who be reported unto us to be chief stirrers, procurators and doers in these commotions, whereof one is a Priest and Chapleyn of your Grace's in Devonshire, being att Sandford Courtney in Devonshire, and one other servant of yours in Suff. called Pooley, late a receyvour, who is reported to be not only a Captayn of the worst sort of them that be assembled in Suff., but also to be of such credit amongs the assembles of these rebelles in all other places as his Passport only may give good security to goo and come as they will even to Devonshire: we hear also of one other houshold servant of your's, called Byonell, and of great lyk credit amongs the rebells in Suff.² And albeit we think your grace hath no certain knowledge of these your servants doings, yet for that your proceedings in matters of religion be such as are openly known to be against the proceedings of the King's Majesty and the hole realme, and such as (we fear) have given no small courage to many of these men to require and do as they do, We thought necessarie not only to give your Grace notice of the premisses, and that in many places they seame to take both example and great courage of their doings, but also to pray you to give such order for the stay of your servants so as they would have no occasion to judge that any towards you shuld be doers in thies things against his Majesty."³ But she presently vindicated herself and her servants, and declared her dislike of these practices by an earnest letter, written July 20, being the same day she

¹ For an interesting use of this expression, see Appendix (N).

² There was undoubtedly strong suspicion entertained that the Lady Mary was implicated; for, in addition to the above, a letter (July sixth) of Sir Thomas Smith's, described as "one of England's most upright and able statesmen" (Patr. Frazer Tytler), is preserved at the St. P. Off. Dom.—Edw. VI. vol. viii. No. 33), in which he says, "*Illud de Mario, vel Marianis, me valde angit, immo prope exanimat. Faxit Deus Opt. Max. pro sua clementia malum id avertat.*"

³ Strype's Mem. Eccles. vol. ii. pt. I. c. 21.

received the Council's. For first, as to her servants, she showed¹ "how she had not one chaplain in those parts; that Pooley remained continually in her house, and was never doer among the commons, nor came into their company. It is true she had another servant of that name dwelling in Suffolk, and whether the commons had taken him or no, she could not tell; but by report they had taken by force many gentlemen in those quarters, and used them very cruelly, and perhaps so he might be served. That as for the third, she could not but marvel at the bruit of him, especially because he dwelt within two miles of London, and was not acquainted with the shires of Suffolk or Norfolk, nor at any time came into those parts but when he waited upon her at her house, and was then at London about her business; being also a man not at all apt or meet for such purposes, but given to as much quietness as any within her house. She added, that it troubled her to hear such reports of any of hers, and especially where no cause was given; trusting that her household should try² themselves true subjects to the King's Majesty, and honest, quiet persons, or else she would be loath.

"And as for herself, she assured the Protector that these stirs did not less offend her than him and the rest of the Council. And for Devonshire, no indifferent person could lay their doings to her charge, for she had neither land nor acquaintance in that country. And whereas they charged her, that her proceedings in matters of religion should have given no small courage to many of those men to require, and to do, as they did; that, she said, appeared to be most untrue, for that all the rising about the parts where she was, was touching no part of religion. But even as they ungently, and without desert, charged her, so she omitted so fully to answer it as the cause required, and would pray God that their new alterations and unlawful liberties were not rather the occasions of these assemblies than her doings, who was, God she took to witness, inquieted therewith."

The following extracts from the Register of the Privy Council show very plainly the disturbed state of Suffolk:—

¹ "E MSS. Rev. Patr. D. Johann. Episcop. Elien."—*Strype*.

² *I. e.* "prove."

"The same treasurer" (Mr. Peckham) "had warrant for C mks to Sir Anthony Wyngfeld, sent into Suff. for the stay of that Shire.—Aug. iij, 1549." ¹

"Mr. Carew had warrant for iij^{li} vj^s viij^d to one Wood by way of reward, and Love, Breton and Myller forty shillings a pece, so also in reward for service done in pacifying the commotions in Suffolk.—Aug. x." ²

"Mr. Williams had warrant for x^{li} to Mr. Taswall for his peynes riding to Suffolk and returning again about the pacifying of the commotions there, to be repayed of the sales.—Aug. x." ³

"The same treasurer" (Mr. Williams) "had warrant for xij^{li} x^s to Thomas Drurry in Reward to him and his Band for thapprehension of one Peyn, a notable Rebell of Suff. This of the sales.—Aug. xij." ⁴

"Mr. Williams had warrant for v^{li} to Mr. Cecill delyvered by him to one of Mr. Rouses servantes in reward for bringing hither a Rebell out of Suff.—Aug. xij." ⁵

"The same treasurer" (Mr. Williams) "had warrant for xl^s to William Cecill of the sales geven by him in reward for a servant of Sir Anthony Wingfeldes that brought a stranger hyther out of Suff.—Aug. xx." ⁶

"Sir John Williams had warrant for v^{li} to Mr. Cycill payed by him, viz. iij^{li} to Sir Thomas Wentworth that brought a prisoner out of Suff., and xl^s to a servant of Sir Anthony Wingfeldes for bringing to the Court one Sherman a Rebell."

"Thomas Persee had warrant for xxij^{li} vj^s viij^d, viz. to William Barnard for apprehending a notable Rebell and carrying him to be hanged at Brandon fery, v^{li} to Mr. Walpole for xxx^s in reward to serten persones of Bury * * * * xxx^s to John Hurless for apprehension of serten seditious persons. * * * xix. Aug." ⁷

"Mr. Williams had warrant for v^{li} to Edmund Moon, for the

¹ Edw. VI. vol. i. p. 557.

² Vol. i. p. 561.

³ Vol. i. p. 561.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 562.

⁵ Vol. i. p. 564.

⁶ Vol. i. p. 566.

⁷ Vol. i. p. 570.

bringing hither out of Suff., by the order of the Lord Protector's Grace and Counsel, of one Richard Wade.—xxi. Aug.”¹

“Thomas Persee had warrant * * * for xx^s to Richard Wade, sent hyther out of Suff. and accused as a styrrer of sedicion, whereof he hath cleared himself. And for xl^s to serten men of Sudbury for bringing up of one Thomson, a sedicious person.—xxij Aug.”²

“Warrant to _____ for v^{li} to Sir Anthony Wingfield for bringing iij prysoners out of Suff., and to Christofer Lees and John Sutton for bringing a prisoner out of the same counte, xx^s.—xij Nov.”³

And when the commotion in Norfolk had been put down, and the leaders had perished, “light ffellowes” still persisted in going about the country, influenced by the prophecies current at the time, and desirous of stirring up others to do as, it may be, they themselves had done in the troubles shortly before ended.

“Lettres⁴ to Sir John Gates to apprehend certeyn light ffellowes that came out of Suff. to Wyttam in Essex, where they drynke all day and looke uppon bookes in the night, texamyn them, take their bookes, and send them up with their examinacions, and put them in sure hold.—viii March” [1550].

But to return: as soon as the report of the camp at Mousehold reached Suffolk, the people collected in great numbers, and assailing Yarmouth suddenly, surprised and seized the two bailiffs, John Myllicent and Nicholas Fenn, Esqrs.,⁵ by whom it was governed; but these afterwards escaped, and exerted themselves with their fellow-townsmen so effectually, as will be seen by referring to a subsequent page, that the insurgents left this part of the county,⁶ and joined

¹ Edw. VI. vol. i. p. 572.

² Vol. i. p. 573.

³ Vol. ii. p. 34.

⁴ Privy Council Register, Edw. VI. vol. ii. p. 113.

⁵ Swinden's History of Great Yarmouth.

⁶ For this service they received the following letter from the lords of the Privy Council:—

“After our hearty commendations. We have received advertisement by the bearer Thomas Woodhouse, that ye have very honestly kept the town against the rebels; your

Kett at his Great Camp, where he was now so well established, with thousands flocking to his standard and Norwich itself at his command, that he felt in a position to issue warrants in the following form :—

“ We, the King's friends and deputies, do grant license to all men to provide and bring into the Camp at Mousehold all manner of cattle and provision of vittels, in what place soever they may find the same, so that no violence or injury be done to any honest or poor man : commanding all persons, as they tender the King's honor and roiall majestie, and the reliefe of the Common Welthe, to be obedient to us the Governors, and to those whose names ensue.

(Signed) “ ROBT. KETT.”¹

The names of the delegates were also appended—two from each hundred.

Having thus attended to the commissariat, his next step was to draw up a list of grievances, the most important document connected with the rising, and which, fortunately, is still in existence. It commences with the names of the deputies or delegates from twenty-two

diligence therein we take in good part towards you, and require a continuance in you for the same, and now that Woodhouse cometh down thither, who is vice-admiral, the same is instructed for the order of the ships and mariners, which you shall follow. And considering that the port of Yarmouth is towards the country of Scotland, and so most likely to attempt matter against, it shall be best that you have a special regard unto it and namely to keep your mariners together for the service of the King's Majesty as occasion may require thus fare you heartily well.

“ Your loving frends

“ E. SOMERSET, &c.”

“ *From Westminster, 26. July, 1549.*”

Swinden's Hist. of G. Yarmouth.

¹ “ Nos Regis amici ac Delegati : pecoris et cujusvis generis commeatus conquirendi, necnon in castra Mousholdica deferendi potestatem omnibus concedimus, quocunque in loco deprehenderint, dummodò ne qua vis aut injuria honesto ac pauperi cuiquam inferatur. Cunctis ex imperio denuntiantes, prout honori ac Majestati Regiæ, Reique publicæ afflictæ, provisum et consultum volunt, nobis Delegatis, et his quorum nomina subsequuntur dicto audientes esse.

“ ROBERTUS KETTUS.”

Blomefield's Norf.

Neville.

hundreds in Norfolk, and one only from Suffolk,¹ and is drawn up in the form of a petition :—

“ We pray your grace that where it is enacted for inclosyng, that it be not hurtfull to suche as have enclosed saffren² grounds, for they be gretly chargeablye to them, and that frome hensforth noman shall enclose eny more.

“ We certifie your grace that where as the lords of the manours hath byn charged w^t certe fre rent,³ the same lords hath sought meanes to charge the freholders to pay the same rent, contrarye to right.

“ We pray your grace that no lord of no mannor shall comon uppon the Comons.⁴

“ We pray that prests frome hensforth shall purchase no londs neyther ffre nor Bondy, and the lands that they have in possession may be letten to temporall men, as they have byn (*sic*) wer in the fyrst yere of the reign of Kyng henry the vijth.⁵

¹ Harl. MSS. 304, fo. 75. The names will be found in Appendix (O). The list is evidently incomplete, as Neville says twenty-six hundreds were represented, whereas only twenty-two are mentioned in the MS. It may be interesting to state, that though it has the appearance of having been injured by fire, and is in parts defective, it is, upon the whole, very legible, and in a fair state of preservation. The signatures are very firmly and plainly written.

² This word is far from being clear in the original: one conjecture is “saffren,” though it seems scarcely credible that “saffron” could have been of so much importance that the enclosing of “saffron grounds” could be a grievance. Another conjecture is, “sufficient,” though it is difficult to see how this agrees with the rest. In the Instructions issued July, 1549 (State P. Off.—Dom.—Edw. VI. vol. viii. No. 10), there is no mention either of “saffren” or “sufficient” grounds.

³ The “fre rent” was the rent due from a lord of a manor to the superior lord under whom he held it: he was bound to pay this himself, and not to exact it of others.

⁴ This was clearly a grievance, and one they were perfectly justified in complaining of.

⁵ It is difficult to account for this grievance, unless we assume that “prests” having land in their possession neglected their spiritual duties: the latter part, fixing a limit to the rent, was an error in judgment, which we shall be the more inclined to excuse if we bear in mind that at this very time wages were fixed by law (25 Edw. III. stat. 1, c. 1—4). It seemed to them unreasonable that there should be no restrictions on rent, while there were restrictions, and those, too, of old date (and therefore not adapted to the times) upon the remuneration of those by whom that land was cultivated.

"We pray that Redeground and medowe grounde may be at suche price as they wer in the first yere of Kyng henry the vijth.¹

"We pray that all marshysshe that ar holden of the Kyngs majestie by ffre rent or of eny other, may be ageyn at the price that they wer In the ffirst yere of King henry the vijth.

"We pray that all Bushells w'in your realme be of one stice, that is to sey, to be in mesure viij gallons.²

"We pray that [prests] or vicars that be [not able] to preche and sett forth the woorde of god to hys parisheners may be thereby³ putt from hys benyfice, and the parisheners there to chose an other or else the pateron or lord of the towne.⁴

¹ We have here, and in the following article, a similar error in judgment.

² This was in strict accordance with Magna Charta, c. xxv., which appoints that "One measure of Wine shall be through our Realm, and one measure of Ale, and one measure of Corn, that is to say, the Quarter of London; and one breadth of dyed Cloth, Russets, and Haberjects, that is to say, two yards within the lists; and it shall be of Weights as it is of Measures."

The following differences in the bushel may be mentioned as showing the existence of the above grievance still:

At Gloucester the bushel of wheat weighs	60 lb.
„ Birmingham	62
„ Newcastle-on-Tyne	63
„ Liverpool	70
„ Newcastle-on-Tynebarley.....	56
„ Birmingham	42

and probably other examples might be given.

The same might be said of other measures, nominally the same, but in reality widely and inconveniently differing; the fact being, that while there is one established by law, there are others which owe their origin and authority to custom.

³ *I. e.* "Because of this inability to discharge their duties," of which there was too good reason to complain at this time.

⁴ There are two ways in which we may regard this grievance:

- a. Directly, as a sincere desire on the part of Kett that the clergy should discharge their duties; but that if, as was the case with too many, they could not, then their livings should be voided, and given to other and better men; or
- b. Indirectly, as showing a feeling which they dare not openly express, in favour of the "old religion," the prominent putting forward of the incompetency of their present "prests and vicars," being intended as a compliment to and an expression of their affection for, those who had in time past filled these offices.

"We pray that the payments of castillward rent,¹ and blanche fferme,² and office lands,³ which hath byn accustomed to be gathered of the tenaments, where as we suppose the lords ought to pay the same to ther balyffs for ther rents gatheryng, and not the teñts.⁴

"We pray that noman under the degre of a knyght or esquier kepe a dowe howse,⁵ except it hath byn of an ould anchyent costome.⁶

"We pray that all ffreholders and copieholders may take the profights of all coñons, and ther ~~lords~~ (*sic*) to coñon, and the lords not to coñon nor take profights of the same.⁷

The former seems the more correct view; since it is incredible that, while in many other parts of the kingdom, and especially in Devonshire, at this very time, spiritual grievances were boldly alleged as justifying rebellion, the people of Norfolk, as represented by Kett and his Governours, should have been guilty of such moral cowardice as to be afraid to state distinctly what they had to complain of. Had such a course been suggested, one may easily imagine Kett as exclaiming, "Such counsels are fit for tame fools." See. p. 29, *note*.

¹ The lord of a manor was entitled to certain payments for the maintenance of his castle. Originally those who held under him were bound, with their retainers, to serve in person for a certain time each year: this personal service was afterwards changed into a money payment, called "castleward rent." This commutation would be, in two ways, a loss to the "tenaments," or tenants: for, first, they would no longer have their annual visit to the castle, with the good fare, and other advantages connected therewith; and, in the next place, the lord made them pay this, instead of doing so himself.

² When the established rents of the freeholders of a manor were reserved in silver or white money, they were anciently called *white-rents*, or *blanch-farms*.—*Blackstone*, bk. II. c. 3.

³ The lands here meant were most probably Crown lands, the rent of which would be payable by the lord holding under the Crown.

⁴ *I. e.* "tenants."

⁵ Their feeling was so strong against such houses, that they called them "dens of thieves;" at which we cannot be surprised, if we bear in mind the quantity of grain doves, or more properly pigeons, will consume.

⁶ "A lord of a manor may build a dove-coat upon his own land, parcel of the manor; but a tenant cannot without the lord's licence. Any freeholder may build a dove-coat on his own ground. And it hath been adjudged that erecting of a dove-house is not a common nuisance, nor presentable in the leet. While the destroying of them is punishable; yet if they come upon my land and I kill them, the owner hath no remedy against me: tho' I may be liable to the statutes which make it penal to destroy them."—*Burn's Justice of the Peace: Game*.

⁷ This is a repetition of the third Grievance, with the additional mention of those to whom they wished the "profights," *i. e.* profits, of the commons to be confined.

"We pray that no Ffeodorye¹ w^tin your sheres shalbe a coun-
celler to eny man in his office makyng, wherby the Kyng may be
trulye served, so that a man beeng of good consyence may be yerely
chosyn to the same office by the comons of the same sheyre.²

"We pray your grace to take all libertie of lete into your owne
hands wherby all men may quyety enjoye ther comons w^t all
profights.³

"We pray that copiehould londs that is onresonable rented may
go as it dyd in the first yere of Kyng henry the vij⁴ and that at
the deth of a tenante or of a sale the same lands to be charged
w^t an esey ffyne as a capon or a resonable [sum] of money for a
remembraunce.⁵

"We pray that no prest [shall be a chaplain]⁶ nor no other
officer to eny man of honor or wyrshypp but only to be resydent
uppon ther benefices wherby ther parysheners may be enstructed w^t
the lawes of god.

"We pray thatt all bonde men may be made ffre for god made
all ffre w^t his precious blode sheddyng.⁷

¹ *I. e.* "feudatory," or holder of a feud, fief, or fee.

² The meaning seems to be, that, in the case of all offices which lasted only for a year, the appointment should be, not in the hands of a feudatory, but in those of the "comons of the same sheyre:" in other words, they thought popular election would secure better servants for the King, than private patronage.

³ The Court Leet "hath cognisance of a great number of offences both by the common law and by statute: but a man cannot be presented in the Leet for surcharging the common, or for digging in the common; because this concerns the private, not the publick interest, and belongs rather to the Court Baron to inquire of it. The business of the Leet hath declined for many years; and is devolved on the Quarter Sessions."—*Burn's Justice of the Peace: Leet.*

From the above Grievance it would seem that there was a disposition on the part of those entitled to hold Court Leets, to extend their jurisdiction to the commons, so as to interfere with the rights of those entitled to commonage.

⁴ This was another error in judgment.

⁵ In cases of *fine arbitrary* it cannot be more than two years' improved value.

⁶ This is entirely conjectural, as the original does not afford the slightest clue as to what the missing words were.

⁷ The existence of this article enables us to account for much that otherwise would be inexplicable. Taking this as the foundation on which they rested their hopes and claims,

"We pray that Ryvers may be ffre and comon to all men for fyshyng and passage.¹

"We pray that noman shalbe put by your Esthetory and Ffeodarie to ffynde eny office unles he holdeth of your grace in cheyff or capite above x^{li} by yere.²

"We pray that the pore mariners or Fyshereme may have the hole profights³ of ther fyshyngs as purpres⁴ grampes⁵ whalles or eny grett fyshe so it be not prejudicall to your grace.⁶

we are not surprised at finding indications of deeper seriousness and of a higher tone of feeling than usually accompany popular outbreaks: thus, their proceedings were conducted with a certain measure of order and sobriety; justice was duly administered amongst them, beneath the wide-spreading branches of their Oak of Reformation; the new liturgy, morning and evening, was read amongst them by a regularly appointed chaplain; ministers of the gospel were allowed to address them, and with boldness to rebuke their faults, which plainly showed they were not a lawless rabble; and but few acts of personal violence are recorded. But the time had not yet come for "bonde men" to obtain their freedom; years, many years, of fierce contention and of deadly strife would have to pass away, and many a hard-fought field be won, before this precious boon would be secured to all. The blow thus aimed at the feudal system at present was of no avail; but after the great Puritan struggle, one of the earliest acts Charles II. was to abolish the iniquities and oppressions which had, in the course of time, been grafted upon it: "the court of wards and liveries, and all wardships, &c., are totally taken away; as are also all fines for alienation, tenures by homage, &c., and aids for marrying the daughter, or knighting the son; and that all sorts of tenures be turned into free and common soccage, save only tenures in frankalmoign, copyholds, and the honorary services (without the slavish part) of grand serjeanty."—12 *Car. II. c. 24.*

¹ "All evil customs concerning * * rivers and their keepers, shall forthwith be inquired into, in each county, by twelve knights of the same shire, chosen by the most creditable persons in the same county, and upon oath; and within forty days after the said inquest, be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored."—*Magna Charta*, c. lvi. Restrictions on fishing and passage were clearly regarded by Kett as "evil customs," and as these still existed, he prayed the King for their removal.

² The meaning is far from clear: it may be, "that no man shall hold any office himself, or be compelled to find a substitute," unless his holding, feud, fief, or fee, amounted to £10 a year.

³ Profits.

⁴ Porpoises.

⁵ Grampuses.

⁶ One of the King's prerogatives was, and still is: "The King shall have Wreck of the Sea throughout the Realm, Whales and great Sturgeons taken in the Sea or elsewhere within the Realm, except in certain Places privileged by the King."—17 *Edw. II. stat. 1, c. 11*; or, *The King's Prerogative*.

"We pay y^t evry propriatorie parson or vicar havynge a benefice of x^{li} or more by yere shall eyther by themselves or by some other persone teche pore mens chyldren of ther paryshe the boke called the cathakysme¹ and the prymer.²

"We pray that it be not lawfull to the lords of eny mannor to purchase londs frely³ and to lett them out ageyn by copie of court roll to ther gret advaunchement and to the undoyng of your pore subjects.

"We pray that no propriatorie parson or vicar in consideracon of advoyding trobyll and sute betwyn them and ther pore parishners

I am indebted to Chas. John Palmer, Esq., F.S.A., for the following interesting information on this Grievance :

" GREAT YARMOUTH, 1st May, 1859.

* * * "Whales, sturgeons, porpoises, dolphins, and other fish, 'having in them a great or large thickness of fatness,' are called 'Fishes Royal,' and from ancient time have, by right or custom, belonged to the Crown. In 1559, Queen Elizabeth, by charter, made a grant to the town of Yarmouth, of all fishes royal taken between Winterton Ness in Norfolk, and Easton Ness in Suffolk, which grant was confirmed by James I. in 1608, and the town enjoyed the privilege, such as it was, till 1835, when the Municipal Corporation Act abolished all local admiralty jurisdictions.

"A few years since (1857), a whale came on shore at Winterton, and I, as receiver of droits for the Crown, reported the circumstance, and was instructed to assert the Queen's right to the same, which I did, although the parties who had got possession of it were allowed to retain it."

¹ "A Breife Catechisme and Dialogue betwene the Husbande and hys Wyfe : " also, "The instruccyon of the truthe : wherein he teacheth the unlearned man."—*N. d.*, but published 1545.

² "A goodly prymer in Englysshe, newly corrected and prynted, with certeyne godly meditations and prayers added to the same, very necessarye and profytable for all them that ryghte assuredlye understande not the latine and greke tongues."—*N. d.*, but published in 1535.

³ *I. e.* to purchase freehold land and then to make it copyhold, a course of proceeding that would give the lord all the privileges to which, under the feudal system, he was entitled at the hands of those holding feuds, fiefs, or fees under him.

It would seem from this, that lords of manors purchased freehold land, and united it to the manors they already held, in direct opposition to the two main principles that support copyhold tenure ; viz.,

1. That the land be parcel of, and situate within, the manor under which it is held ; and

2. That it has been demised, or demisable, by copy of court-roll immemorially.—*Blackstone's Commentaries*, bk. II. c. 6.

whiche they daly do procede and attempt shall from hensforth take for the full contentaçon of all the tenthes which nowe they do receyve but viij^d of the noble in the full discharge of all other tythes.¹

"We pray that no man under the degree of shall
kepe eny conyes upon any of ther owne frehold or copiehold onles he
pale them in so that it shall not be to the comons noysoyns.²

“ We pray that no person of what estate degre or condicion he be shall from hensforth sell the adwardshyppe of eny chyld³ but that the

¹ The wording is, unfortunately, so obscure, that it is difficult to determine the meaning. It is probably, however, a foreshadowing of Tithe Commutation, the levying of tithes in kind having invariably been accompanied with much "trobyll and sute" between the clergy and their parishioners.

Cowper, in his "Yearly Distress, or, Tithing-Time at Stock [-Harward], in Essex," has graphically, though somewhat coarsely, described this "trobvll:"—

“Come ponder well, for ’tis no jest,
To laugh it would be wrong;
The troubles of a worthy priest
The burden of my song.

“ This priest, he merry is and blithe
Three quarters of a year,
But oh ! it cuts him like a scythe
When tithing-time draws near.

* * "In sooth, the sorrow of such days
Is not to be express'd,
When he that takes and he that pays
Are both alike distress'd.

* * "Oh! why are farmers made so coarse,
Or clergy made so fine?
A kick that scarce would move a horse
May kill a sound divine." * *

² *I. e.* "to the commons'" (evidently here meaning tenants and small farmers)
"annoyance or injury."

³ The importance of this will be better understood if we bear in mind that the guardian was not accountable for the profits made of the infant's lands during wardship, but received them for his own private emolument, subject only to the bare maintenance of the infant. And this guardianship, being deemed more an interest for the profit of the guardian than a trust for the benefit of the ward, was saleable and transferable, like the ordinary subjects of property, to the best bidder; and if not disposed of, was

same chyld if he lyve to his full age shall be at his owne chosyn concernyng his marriage the Kyngs wards only except.¹

“We pray that no manner of person havynge a mannor of his owne shall be no other lords balyf but only his owne.”²

“We pray that no lord knyght nor gentleman shall have or take in ferme any spirituall promocion.”³

“We pray your grace to gyve lycens and auctorite by your gracious comyssion under your grett seall to suche comyssioners as your pore comons hath chosyn, or to as many of them as your majestie and your counsell shall apoynt and thynke mete, for to redresse and reforme all suche good lawes, statutes, proclamacons, and all other your procedyngs, whiche hath byn hydden by your Justices of your peace, Shreves, Escheatores, and other your officers, from your pore

transmissible to the lord's personal representatives. Thus the custody of the infant's person, as well as the care of his estate, might devolve upon the most perfect stranger to the infant; one prompted by every pecuniary motive to abuse the delicate and important trust of education, without any ties of blood, or regard, to counteract the temptations of interest, or any sufficient authority to restrain him from yielding to their influence.

¹ Allusion is here made to another piece of authority exercised by the guardian over his ward—the right of marriage, or *maritagium*. While the infant was in ward, the guardian had the power of tendering him or her a suitable match, without disparagement or inequality. If the infants rejected this, they forfeited to the guardian the value of the marriage, *i. e.*, so much as a jury would assess, or any one would *bonâ fide* give to the guardian for such an alliance; while, if the male ward (for females were not liable to this) married without the guardian's consent, and after he had proposed to them a suitable match, they forfeited double the value, “*duplicem valorem maritagii*.—*Blackstone's Commentaries*, bk. II. c. 5.

² The intention was to limit the power of the lord of a manor, and prevent him from adding to his influence as lord the authority resulting from, and attendant on, being the bailiff of some greater lord.

³ The following extract from “William Wightman's letter to ‘Gentle Mr. Cecill’” (State Paper Office, Domestic, Edw. VI., May 10, 1549), in which he is stating what Lord Sudely had said to him, illustrates this grievance:—

“Well, well, said he, they are at this point now, that there can neither Bishoprick, Deanery, nor Prebend fall void, but one or other of them will have a fleece of it. Indeed I did, on this point, both grant his saying to be true, and aggravate the matter, to confirm his opinion, with naming the Deanery of Wells, the Bishoprick of Lincoln, and others, which I told him had been sore plucked at * * * For mine own part [said

comons, synes the first yere of the reigne of your noble grandfather King henry the seventh.¹

"We pray that those your officers y^t hath offended your grace and your comons and so provid by the compleynt of your pore comons do gyve onto those pore men so assembled iiij^d every day so long as they have remayned ther.²

"We pray that no lorde knyght esquier nor gentleman do g[raze] nor fede eny bullocks or Shepe if he may spende forty pounds a yere by his lands but only for the provicion of his howse.

"By me ROBT. KETT

THOMAS COD."³

"By me THOMAS ALDRICHE

Before giving the King's answer, it may not be amiss to state the view of this commotion held by Godwin, Heylin, and Lingard, none of whom seem to have been aware of the existence of the above document, from which alone the true character of this rising could be learned. Godwin states the insurgents complained that

"The free-borne Commonalty was oppressed by a small number

Lord Sudely] I will not have a penny after that rate, nor they shall not be able to charge me with the value of a farthing."—*Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. i. p. 168.

It was this that caused Knox so much pain: he was sore grieved when he saw greedy, worldly barons clutch hold of the Church's property: when he expostulated, that it was not secular, that it was spiritual property, and should be turned to true churchly uses,—education, schools, worship, the Regent Murray had to answer, with a shrug of the shoulders, "It is a devout imagination!"—*Carlyle, The Hero as Priest*.

But what Knox in Scotland and Kett in Norfolk advocated, viz. the application of Church property to spiritual purposes, is not even yet realized: it is, unhappily, only "a devout imagination" still; since, from a Return, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 18th June, 1856, it appears that the total rent-charges commuted, payable to lay impropiators, is £765,427. 5s. 4³/₄d.; being nearly one-fifth of the whole, and about one-third of the amount received by parochial incumbents.

¹ Their intention seems to have been, on the one hand, to bring about a general reform of the laws of the land, through the agency of those who especially felt themselves aggrieved,—the representatives of the "pore comons;" and to secure such an acquaintance with these laws, so reformed, as might be beneficial to the public.

² From the preceding article it appears that they wished to have a people's parliament; while the above provides not only for the remuneration of the members, but also the source from whence the necessary funds might be derived.

³ Endorsed, "Articles of the requests and Demaundes:" also, "Keates Demaundes beinge in Rebellyon."

of Gentry, who glut themselves with pleasure, whiles the poore Commons, wasted with daily labour, do, like packhorses, live in extreme slavery. But howsoever the calamities incident to this present life may with a constant patience be endured, the Soule is to be redeemed even with a thousand deaths. Holy rites established by antiquity are abolished, new ones are authorized, and a new forme of Religion obtruded. To other evils death gives an end: but if they suffer their souls to be contaminated and polluted by this kind of impiety, what thing is there that can equall them in miseries, to whom the end of these present ones is but the beginning of some more horrid, namely of the pains, which no death can ever terminate? Why then should they not go to the Court, and appoint the King, yet in his minority, new Counsailours, removing those who now ruling as they list, confound things sacred and profane, regarding nothing else but the enriching of themselves with the publique treasure, that they may riot it amid the publique calamities.”¹

Heylin gives a similar account, and says:

“If religion was at all regarded by them, it was rather kept for a reserve than suffered to appear in the front of the battle. But when their numbers were so vastly multiplied as to amount to twenty thousand, nothing would serve them but the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and somewhat also to be done in favour of the old religion:” whilst their second grievance is alleged to have been, “That holy rites, established by antiquity, were abolished, new ones authorized, and a new form of religion obtruded, to the subjecting of their souls to those horrid pains which no death could terminate.”²

While Lingard,³ who would naturally be desirous of representing the people of Norfolk as being equally anxious for “the old religion” with insurgents in other parts of the kingdom, combines the above accounts: but the grievances just given show plainly that what the Lady Mary said was perfectly true, “all the rising about the parts where she was, was touching no part of religion.”⁴

¹ Godwin's Annals.

² Heylin's Hist. of Reformation.

³ Lingard's Hist. of Eng.

⁴ Strype's Mem. Eccles. vol. ii. pt. I. c. xxi. See also p. 3.

The King¹ took it for a great indignity that these men should offer to treat with him as enemies lawfully holding the field; yet knowing right well that as good counsels gather strength by time, so upon a little respite, evil advices either vanish or grow weak, to win some advantage of time, returned answer:—

“That seeing he was always ready to receive and relieve the quiet complaints of any of his subjects, he marvelled much that upon opinion either of necessity in themselves, or of injustice in him, they should first put themselves into arms as a party against him, and then present him with their bold petitions; especially at such a time when, having fully reformed many other matters, he had lately set forth a proclamation against excessive prices of victuals,² and had also appointed commissioners, with ample authority for reformation of enclosures,³ of depopulations, of taking away commons, and of divers other things, whereof, doubtless, some had by this time been redressed, had not these disorders given impediment to these designs generally; when they might well discern both his care and endeavour to set all matters in a right frame of reformation, as might best stand both with his honour and their sureties. Notwithstanding this, however, they were eager violently to take his authority into their own hands.”

“Touching their particular complaint for reducing farms and lands to their ancient rents, although it could not be done by his ordinary power without a parliament, yet he would so far extend his authority, royal and absolute, as to give charge to his commissioners to travail

¹ Sir John Hayward's Life of Edward VI.

² “Ite p^d the same daye (July 8th) for the p^oclamation for vyttalles, ij^d.”

Household, &c. Accts. of Lestrange of Hunstanton.

Archæol. xxv. p. 556.

“Item to a pursevaunt that brought a proclamacion for the pryce of Vyttell at Mr. Mayers comaundement, ij^s.”

“Item for Nayells to nayle up the same proclamacion, j^d.”

C. H. Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 45.

³ In the Appendix (B) will be found a list of “Complaynts at the Insurrection,” being most probably that which, at Cambridge, was submitted to these commissioners, &c.

⁴ For a very interesting Article on the condition of the Peasantry, see *Archæol.* vol. xxx. pp. 205—244.

with all persons within their counties to reduce lands to the same rents whereat they were farmed forty years before, and that rents should be paid at Michaelmas then next ensuing, according to that rate; and that such as would not presently yield to his commissioners for that redress should, at the parliament which he would forthwith summon, be overruled.

“Concerning their complaint for prices of wools,¹ he would forthwith give order that his commissioners should cause clothiers to take wools, paying only two parts of the price whereat commonly they were sold the year next before; and for the other third part, the owner and the buyer should stand to such order as the Parliament should appoint. At which also he would give order that landed men, to a certain proportion, should be neither clothiers nor farmers. And further, that one man should not use divers occupations, nor have plurality of benefices nor of farms; and generally, that then he would give order for all the residue of their requests, in such sort as they should have good cause not only to remain quiet, but to pray for him, and to adventure their lives in his service.

“This Parliament he promised should begin in the beginning of October then next ensuing; against which time they should appoint four or six of their county to present bills of their desires, and in the mean season apply themselves to their harvest and other peaceable business at home, and not to drive him to necessity (whereof he would be sorry), by sharper means, to maintain both his own dignity and the common quiet.”

These letters, carrying the King's name in the front and the Protector's with the King's signet at the foot, were sent by a herald to Mousehold, a place guarded with great but disordered and confused strength of the seditious: herewith also the King sent his general pardon, in case they would quietly desist and dissolve; but it was all, unhappily, of no avail.²

¹ There is not, however, any mention of the price of wool in Kett's List of Grievances.

² The above is taken from Sir John Hayward's Life of Edward VI.

R. B[urton], in his Admirable Curiosities, Rarities, and Wonders, says, “The King

In the mean time the city of Norwich, filled with anxiety at its present condition, and at the grievous character the disturbances had assumed, was very uncertain how to act, especially as, from the risings that were taking place at this time in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey, Essex, Kent, Cambridgeshire,¹ and elsewhere, the King's Council was unable to render any assistance towards putting down the Norfolk insurgents. The consequence was, that the insurrection continued to spread, and the camp on Mousehold soon contained no less than 16,000 men.² At Kett's suggestion they began to intrench themselves, and to bring to the camp weapons of every kind, balls, or "pyllets³ of gonshotte," as they are called in the City Chamberlain's Accounts, and great quantities of gunpowder. To obtain these, bands of them wandered about the county, ransacked the houses of the gentry; and whatever cattle they met with in the fields, or money in the house, or corn in the barn, they carried to the Camp, and that, too, though the owners stood by looking on. "And first they went to old Paston Hall and gett ordinance from thence, and soe to Yermouth and other placis, and brought in forsan severall peeces one and other, and came into Norwich for powder, and sent to Lynn and other placis, and what theye could gett that were sent, they browt with them, both shott, powder, Armurie, corne, cattell, mony, and every thing ells, and browt the gretest parte to the Rebellis Campe, and some they convertid to their private use."⁴ To remedy this misappropriation of the booty, it was determined that some place should be selected where justice might be administered and "the people be admonished to beware of their robbinge, spoylinge, and other theyr evil demeanors, and what accompt they had to

returned this answer: That in October following he would call a Parliament, wherein their complaints should be heard, and all their grievances redressed, requiring them in the meantime to lay down their arms and return to their houses, and thereupon granting them a general pardon."

¹ See page 41.

² Nevylle.

³ Two "pyllets of gonshotte" are in the Museum at Norwich, having been found while digging a well on Mousehold, near Kett's Castle. They were presented to the Museum by the Rev. C. Morse.

⁴ Nicholas Sotherton.

make.”¹ There was an aged oak, with wide-spreading branches, which was chosen as the place best adapted for this purpose: this they roofed in with beams and boards, and here, with the people standing about them, they determined all such matters as were brought before them; and here, assisted by the Governours or Delegates, Kett held his King's Bench, Chancery, and all other courts.² If those who had concealed any goods obtained by Kett's warrants were discovered, and the crime of so doing proved, they were committed to prison. This tree was called the Oak of Reformation, under which, at first, no one was allowed to go except Kett and the Governours, some of whom, and especially the Mayor, Thomas Codd, Mr. Aldrich, and others, who, to save themselves and their country, allowed themselves to be so called, strove incessantly to restrain the people from robbing and plundering. Their admonitions, however, “but lyttill prevailid, for they cryed out of the Gentlemen, as well for that they would not pull downe theyr enclosid groundis, as allsoe understood they by letters fownd emong theyr sarvants how they sowt by all weyes to suppres them, and whatsoever was sayde they would downe with them, so that within a ij or iij wekes they had so pursuyd the Gentlemen from all parts that in noe place durst one Gentleman keepe his house, but were faine to spoile themselves of theyr apparell, and lye and keepe in woods and lownde³ places, where noe resort was: and some fledd owte of the contrye; and glad they were in theyr howses, for saving of the rest of theyr goods and cattell, to provide for them daiely bred, mete, drinke, and all other viands, and to carry the same at their” own “charge⁴ home to the Rebellis Campe, and that for the saviage theyr wyves, and chydren, and sarvants. Notwithstanding were dyvers gentlemen taken, and browt to prison, some in Norwich prison, and some in Norwich Castle, and some in Surrey place.”¹

There was one circumstance attending these tumults that shows the forbearance of Kett and his associates, and their assured conviction

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² Blomefield.

³ *I. e.* “under cover, or shelter.”—*Dr. Johnson.*

⁴ See Town Accounts of North Elmham, Appendix (H).

of the goodness of their cause, viz., that they allowed any, who were willing to do so, to go up into the Oak of Reformation and endeavour to dissuade the multitude from persisting in their rebellion.¹ Some of the principal citizens, and the city clergy, laboured heartily in this way to put an end to the robberies and firings of which the insurgents were guilty, and to lead them to think of and desire peace. Not content with addressing the people in the daytime, they spent the night in keeping watch and ward; thus discharging their duty as faithful ministers and good subjects. Amongst others who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great prudence, faithfulness and integrity, and who was highly esteemed by his townsmen.² The great service he did at this time deserves to be mentioned; for he was one of those divines that used now to go up into the pulpits of the City churches, exhorting the citizens (many of whom were actually in the insurrection, and many more too much disposed thereunto) to leave off their wicked attempts, and to return to peace and quietness, and their obedience to their sovereign. One day, with his brother Thomas Parker,³ and some friends, he had the courage to go into Kett's camp, resolving to bestow his good counsel upon them, and to try to reclaim them from their evil course:—when he arrived, he found Kett and his companions standing under the Oak, communing of matters one with another; at which time the Mayor, Thomas Codd, displayed no little courage, and spake out in a manner well worthy of a brave man. For

¹ "The Mayor, Mast^r Aldrich, and others would often go up into this Tree and endeavoured by all the persuasion and mild arguments they could think of, to make them desist from this course, and leave off committing such outrages. There were also grave and learned Divines, that tried all ways possible to withdraw them from these wicked attempts, and to reduce them to peace and quietness, though at the same time they hazarded their lives by so doing. For the Mayor and other of the Gentry, though they were admitted to the counsels of the rebels, for the better credit thereof, yet, if Kett was present, they were no better than Herb John in the pottage, having no influence on the consultations: but if he happily chanced to be absent, then they were like St. John's Wort, (so sovereign for sores and against the Plague itself) that they much mitigated the fury of their mischievous decrees."—*Blomefield*.

² Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.

³ He became mayor in 1568.

when Kett pressed him to give up the keys of the City and all his authority, and to resign his office as Mayor, Codd answered boldly, "I would sooner lay down my life than either, by villany, treacherously desert my City, or through fear and cowardice, most shamefully fail in the duty I owe my King."

Parker, seeing them much interested in the question of the Mayor's resignation, and observing the great mass of the people overcome by their excesses and by the heat of the weather, thought it would be of no use addressing them then, and so went back into the City. The next day, in the morning, not having any rest in his own mind till he had discharged his conscience, he went again to the Camp with his brother, when he found them very differently occupied; for they were now all at their prayers under the Oak, and Thomas Conyers, their chaplain, was saying the Litany among them. The Doctor, glad to have met with so favourable an opportunity, went up into the Oak, and preached to them.

He divided his sermon into three parts.

1. He admonished them to be temperate and sober, and not to consume in luxury and ungodliness the provisions they had brought into their camp, since these were God's gifts: by this he was indirectly reproving them for the excesses of the previous day.
2. He urged them not to pursue private enmities, nor under the influence of angry and revengeful feelings, to defile their hands with blood; nor to imprison and load with chains those whom they regarded as enemies; nor cruelly and wickedly to take away any man's life.¹ And
3. He pressed them that they, having regard to the common good, would desist from their purpose; would place confidence in the heralds or messengers who might come to them from the King; and give his Majesty, young as he was, the honour due unto him: by doing which they might use him hereafter, when he came to more ripe

¹ "Which thing they were notoriously guilty of."—*Strype's Archbishop Parker*.

and flourishing estate (the valour and prowess of his ancestors being confirmed in him, and as it were, deep-rooted) with incredible delight and pleasure.¹

While he was preaching thus unto them he was very earnest, and all heard him with much attention and good-will, the Doctor being "a most charming preacher,"² till one of them said, "How long shall we bear with this hireling Doctor? He's hired by the gentry, and so he comes with words for which they have paid him, and with his tongue bribed by them. But for all his prating we will bridle their intolerable power, and will hold them bound with the cords of our laws, spite of their hearts."³ Upon this a tumult was made; and many, stirred up by this speech, inveighed against him with bitter and threatening words, yea, and fearful speeches of some were heard, and dangerous, which came also to his own ears. And some of them cried out fiercely, "Since he had spoken so finely, and sprinkled his speech with such witty words and sentences, the best thing to do would be to pierce him with their pikes and arrows, and so make him come down." Whereupon no little fear came upon him at that time, which was increased by feeling under his feet the points of their spears,⁴ and greatly was he afraid that the angry multitude intended to kill him on the spot. Afterwards, however, it was discovered that his alarm was groundless, since nearly all under the Oak highly honoured the Doctor, loved and respected him exceedingly, and were very glad he had ventured into the Camp. They hoped that the people might be so influenced and softened by his words as either to repent of what they had done, or at least to be more gentle for the future, and allow more liberty to those who,

¹ Wood's Translation.

² Strype's Life of Parker.

³ Wood's Translation of Nevylle.

⁴ Two plates have been published of Kett at the Oak of Reformation; one in Russel's History of England, and the other in R. B[urton's] Admirable Curiosities; but both are incorrect. In the former, the platform is only about eighteen inches high, evidently a great deal too low; while in the latter there is no platform at all, but Kett and three others are sitting among the branches of the tree.

against their own wills, were detained amongst them. Just at this time, when Parker seemed in very great danger, Thomas Coniers, Vicar of St. Martin's at the Palace, with three or four choristers, began to sing the Te Deum, in English, to solemn music; by the sweetness of which song they being ravished, for they were unwonted to music, and being bewitched with these unaccustomed delights, by little and little were appeased.¹

Parker, having got this opportunity, thought it better not to wait until these had made an end of their singing, or until the others should begin to rage anew, and accordingly descended from the Oak with his brother, and departed from the Camp. As they were passing down the hill, towards Pockthorpe Gates, some of the insurgents overtook him, and began to question with him about his license to preach.² He might have told them he was sufficiently licensed, both by King Henry VIII. and the Archbishop of Canterbury; but he, knowing how vain and dangerous it was to talk to them, hastened away slightly (*i. e.* privily), and left his brother, who was then in his company, to hold them in discourse.³

The next day he went to St. Clement's Church, where many of the rebels were present, and from one of the lessons (which were then read publicly in the church) took occasion to say something concerning these tumults. The insurgents said nothing, but waited until he came out, and then, following him, angrily told him, "They knew he had three or four good and able horses, which might be of service to the King; therefore they bade him have them ready immediately after dinner, for they were about to use them presently." To this Parker gave no answer, but straightway sent for a farrier, and directed him to take off the shoes of some, and to pare their hoofs to the quick, and to rub others of them with nerve oil, as though they had been lamed with too much work and travel. The insurgents thought that such was really the case, and accordingly,

¹ Wood's Translation.

² "More especially about the great seal, by which license to preach was given to him."—*Neville*.

³ Strype's Life of Parker.

seeing them afterwards led away as though to pasture, desisted from their purpose. Shortly after, Parker, apparently for the purpose of taking a walk, went out of the gates, and met with his horses two miles from the City, at Cringleford Bridge: he mounted, and set off for Cambridge. "But in the way what he saw, what he heard, what violence and crimes he witnessed on the part of the seditious, whom he met with on his journey, to treat of all these severally would be a work of infinite labour. Nevertheless, by the goodness of God (when he had escaped all these garboyles and popular hurliburlies), at the length, being free from so great dangers, he came safe to Cambridge."¹

The rebels, being now in some measure satiated with the booty they had obtained, betook themselves to acts of violence towards the gentry, many of whom, from every part of Norfolk, were arrested and brought as prisoners to the Camp, which produced a general panic, and all that had the opportunity of so doing, sought to escape by abandoning their homes, changing their apparel, disguising themselves as well as they could, and hiding in caves and thick woods. Those who had horses and carts were constrained to serve the insurgents with them; while others, who had not, were compelled to get them elsewhere for this purpose; and both were commanded, at their own expense, to convey corn and victuals to the Camp on Mousehold,² while, if they refused to obey, they were threatened with the destruction of their houses, the laying waste of their lands, and with violence to their wives and children. Whatever gentlemen they apprehended (and they took many) they bound, as if these had exceeded the rebels themselves in wickedness. Many were delivered to be kept in Norwich, and some committed to the prison, commonly called the Guildhall, others to the Castle. Some were shut up in the Earl of Surrey's house, while if at any time they wanted money (which they wanted often), they compelled the Mayor of the City, out of the public Treasury, always to supply them; whose demands if the Mayor had rejected, without doubt they

¹ Wood's Translation.

² See Appendix (H).

would have emptied the Treasury, set it on fire, "hewyn and mankyld" it worse than they did, and brought destruction upon all. It will be seen by the following extracts from the City Chamberlain's Accompts how roughly the Treasury was used :—

" *Guyldhall.* Itm p^d to John Byrche the yong^r for
p. 310b. workmanshuppe and tymbyr in pecyng
of y^e dore stalle and dore loop of the tresyr howse
which was sore hewyn and mankyld by traitor Ket
and hys Kytlyngs } — „ vj „ viij

p. 311. "Itm to Wyll^m Pede for dyce hede nayles
Ryvetts stapylls plats brads nayles made of dyvse
lenghis¹ w^t square hedes spekyngs² and sondry oy^r
yron worke made for the sayd dore and dore stall
w^t ij days worke of hym takyng of y^e old nayles and
Rivetts brekyng certen tooles w^t setting on and
clynkyng all the forsayd yron worke } — „ xv „ viij

" Itm to Wyll^m Pede and Edmond Bower for new mend-
yng and makyng of ij lockes of the said tresur
howse dore; iiij lockes and hespys on the yron
chest within the said howse, iij other lockes in the
same howse, ij lockes on the chekyr in the sembly
chambyr, and iij gret lockes and keys on the dore
to the tower over the tresyr howse all which lockes
keyes and hespys war brokyn by the forsayd traytor
Kette and hys rebels } — „ ix „ iiij

" Itm p^d to a mason and his man for pynnyng in the dore
stalle and wyndowe in y^e sayd tresur howse and
all the tower ov^r the said howse and archyng within
the same all which wallys were shaken and sore
brosyd with rappyng and brekyng up the dores
there one days worke } — „ — „ xij

" Itm to hym [for] a newe handyll and ij plats for the
same dore and setting on } — „ — „ xvj "

They often, if report may be believed, intended to pillage the City, and their intention would have been carried out, had they not,

¹ *I. e.* "lengths."

² *I. e.* "spikings"—long nails with tee heads.

by the industry and diligence of the Mayor, been always hindered. They carried off to their Camp whatever implements of war could be found in the City, fearing lest matters might afterwards turn out unfavourably. Moreover, they charged the citizens to be ready, at the first call, to defend and help them, if need required, crying out "that they were the King's friends, and, being unjustly oppressed, had taken upon them the defence of the laws, and of the King's Majesty." Not content with this, they used the King's name to serve their own purposes; for certain commissions being sent from the King to divers gentlemen, whose names were therein inserted, commanding them carefully to prevent the dangers that might ensue to the Commonwealth, and to provide that these stirs and commotions might be repressed as soon as possible; the rebels getting possession of these, erased the names of the gentry, and caused their own to be inserted; then they tore off the King's seals, which they attached to forged commissions of their own, and, setting these up in public places, misled the ignorant and those unconscious of such deceit.

Their success, hitherto uninterrupted, so urged them on, that neither the Governours nor Kett himself could restrain them; and the worst features of the rising now rapidly developed themselves. They considered as enemies not only those who refused to join them, but also many worthy citizens, who, to save themselves, fled out of the City with their wives and children; these, driven from their homes, wandered here and there, bewailing much the iniquity of the times, and the miserable condition of their country: while those who remained in the City, threatened as it was with destruction by fire, looked for nothing else than the overthrow and ruin of all things. The state of affairs in the Camp was¹ as bad as could be imagined: thieves, and men of abandoned character, had come to it from every part, together with labourers who preferred idleness to their daily occupations; and these gave themselves up to every conceivable kind of wickedness.

As they had spread devastation on all sides, so whatever was

¹ "Castrorum vero horribilis ac miseranda facies."—*Neville*.

brought to the Camp was quickly consumed in surfeiting and revelling, to an extent that seems almost incredible: besides swans, geese, hens, ducks, and all kinds of fowls without number, about 3,000 bullocks and 20,000 sheep were riotously consumed in the Camp within a few days. In addition to this, the palings and hedges of parks, wherein deer were kept, were pulled down, and the deer carried off; nothing could be kept from them; no regard was had to the future; no thought as to the evils that might ensue; no limits to their extravagance; but all things were speedily dissipated and exhausted; at which, much as we may regret it, we cannot feel surprised, when we remember that hitherto poor and mean indeed had been the fare¹ of very many among that multitude, now maddened by the sense of freedom from the galling restraints under which in time past they had lived, and by seeing themselves surrounded with a profusion—one, too, that they might call their own—such as the wildest imagination amongst them could scarcely have conceived. Sheep and other cattle were so recklessly slaughtered, that a wether was sold publicly for a groat, while the head and purtenance were rejected as most contemptible food, because there was no one that would eat them, so great was the abundance of more delicate fare. Why should I recall the spoiling of groves and woods,² which were almost utterly rooted up and cut down to the ground? all which, as much as could be cut, they burned, or, what was worse, used in building their dens and lodgings. To their licentiousness they added cruelty, its usual companion; for they put in chains many honest and harmless folks, coupling them two and two, and using them very badly.³

Moreover, they appointed to each of the gates and entrances into the City, porters, that none should go out, and commanded also the

¹ See Note, p. 28.

² Thorpe wood was now destroyed, the rebels cutting it down to make huts, and for fuel, and quite cleared it, lest any should conceal themselves therein to their hurt. —*Norwich Roll*.

³ Wood's Translation. They seem to have been content with imprisoning the gentry,—a proceeding that undoubtedly tended to the safety of many, as is clearly shown by what occurred after the Marquis of Northampton left the City.

constables of the wards to see to this. A great company of country-men were gathered together, and appointed to keep watch and ward—rude, rough men, shortly before following the plough, and content to do so; but now advanced to the dignity of watchmen and warders of a great city, with constables charged to wait upon them and supply their wants; and their wants and wishes were so numerous, that many an honest man was ruined in his attempt to gratify and relieve them. In a word, “the state of the Cytte began to bee in most mysserable case, that all men looked for utter destruction, both of lyfe and goods. Then the remnant that feared God seeing the plage¹ thus of sorrowe encreasing, fell to prayer and holye lyffe, and wysheid but to see the day that after they might talke thereof, looking never to recover helpe againe, nor to see theyr Cytte ageine to prosper.”²

This state of things is so well described in the Norwich Roll, that one cannot but regret exceedingly it should be no longer extant: “The women resorted twice a day to prayer, and the servants (except what must needs stay at home) did the same; when Kett’s ambassadors were sent to any private house, they were fain to bake or brew, or do any work for the Camp, else they were carried as traitors to the Oak; as for trading, there was none in the City, people being forced to hide up their choicest goods, and happy were they that had the faith-fullest servants. They that did keep open their shops were robbed and spoiled, and their goods were measured by the arm’s length, and dispersed among the rebels; their children they sent away for fear of fire: I the writer (who was then above 22 years of age, and an eye witness of these things) was present after prayer, during this dolorous state, when people met [and bewailed] the miserable state they were in, and like to be in, holding up their hands to heaven, praying with tears that God would deal so mercifully with them, that they might live to talk of it, thinking it impossible at that time, they were so devoid of hope.”³

¹ *I. e.* “plague.”

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ For this, and all other extracts from the Norwich Roll, I am indebted to “The History of Kett’s Rebellion in Norwich, in the reign of Edward the Sixth; began about the 20th of June, 1549, and ended the Twenty-seventh of August, on which day was

With the view of keeping up the excitement and increasing their number, the rebels "made Larums that Gentlemen were comming against them by ringing of Bells and firing of Beacons, by which meanis resortid greate numbers of people and provision owte of all Towns in Norfolk, Suffolke and dyvers other placis and shyres * * and such as had Ketts Commission * * toke owte of closes pasturs and myddows and owte of mens houses all manner of horses and of grett Cattle iij M and more, and of sheepe xx M and more, an deere out of dyvers parks in greate number besides swans Geese and all other foulis paying nothing therefore."¹ This extract from Sotherton's account is corroborated by Sir Thomas Woodhouse, of Waxham, who, in a letter to his brother Sir William, says, "I am spoyled of M M shepe and all my bulloks and horses w^t the moost parte of all my corne in the contrye."² While they thus appropriated to their own use whatever substance they could find, all "the Gentyllmen they tooke they browte to the Tree of Reformacion, to bee seene of the people, to demande what they would doe with them: where some cryide Hang him, and some Kill him, and some that heard noe word cryd even as the rest even when themselves being demandid why they cryd, answered, For that theyr fellows afore did the like,"¹—a state of things of which the following may be taken as a fair description:

"Give to vulgar Heads the head, and looke for all confused,
At once they publish and repeale, all else, save Order, used:
And as Kytts Campe ill-form'd good forme at their reforming Tree
Sonnes oft by aime consorting voice their Fathers hang'd should be;
So wheare the Multitude prevaile, they censure ere they see."³

As, however, only two instances are recorded, we may assume, that how violent soever Kett's followers might be in word, they did

killed upwards of Three Thousand Five Hundred of the Rebels. Taken from the best account that was ever printed. Norwich: printed by Lane and Walker, and sold by and for W. Chipperfield. Price 1s. 6d. stitched, or in boards 2s.;" as also for other extracts.

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² State Paper Office—Domestic—Edw. VI. vol. viii. No. 55.

³ Albion's England, by William Warner, p. 192.

not display equal violence in their deeds. One case was that of Mr. Wharton: "being garded with a Lane of men on both sydes from the said tree [of Reformation] into the Cyttie, they pricked him with theyr spearis and other weapons, on purpose to kill him, had they not had greate helpe to withstand their malice and creweltye."¹ In the margin Sotherton has written, "How Mr. Wharton emong them was slaine;" though it does not appear, either from his account or that of Nevylle, that such was actually the case.² The other was that of a lawyer belonging to Moulton: he was very much disliked, being "a subtill fellow and a man set to sale for mony;"³ he was also revengeful, and had the reputation of being able to raise spirits with fearful signs and superstitious wonders. It is not clear what they would have done to him, on his hiding-place among thorns and briers being made known by a woman; but a fearful tempest arose, "mighty showres fell, mixt with haile, which covered the earth, and was very deepe," just at the time when they were "haling him with them with all reproach and contumely."⁴ As his death is not recorded, it is probable he escaped.

But though no other cases are mentioned by name, there is reason for believing that as, in the words of Paget already quoted,⁵ "Comyns ys become a kinge," and all had, consequently, full leave and license to act as they pleased, much vindictiveness would be displayed, and many a grudge that had long rankled, be paid off, and acts of harshness, injustice, and spoliation perpetrated against the gentry, in return for similar acts, real or fancied, committed by them.

While the rebels were thus committing their ravages in the City and surrounding country, Sir Edmund Knevet, or Knyvett, who resided at Hingham, about eleven miles from Norwich, determined, with a small company of his servants, to dislodge a body of insurgents stationed there. He commenced by attacking the night watch, and,

¹ Nicholas Sotherton. ² "Parumque abfuit quin interficeretur."—*Nevylle*.

³ "Venalique vir ingenio."—*Nevylle*—*Wood's Translation*.

⁴ Wood's Translation.

⁵ See p. 17.

overthrowing many of them, succeeded in breaking through their ranks. Some of his own men were unhorsed, and in danger of being killed; but after displaying much valour, he succeeded in rallying his followers, and escaping with them. After this temporary defeat, the rebels repaired to Kett to show their losses and complain of the same: having consulted with them and others, it was proposed that they should attack Sir Edmund at Buckenham Castle,¹ in order to fetch him out of it by force. Considerable dissension, however, took place among the leaders; for, the place being well fortified, some thought it too strong to be taken, while others were held back by their fears, the castle being full twelve miles from the main camp; and so that enterprise dropped, the most part thinking it best to sleep in a whole skin.²

At this time, Leonard Sotherton, a citizen of Norwich, had through fear of the rebels fled to London, "for his owne Savegard as others did the same:"³ he was roughly treated by the way, but afterwards received compensation.⁴

"Pd to leonard Sutterton in recompense of suche losses
as he susteyned when he was robbyd by the waye } — „ lvj „ viij"
rydyng for the Kyngs pardon at Magdalen tyde.....

He was summoned before the Council, who, by him were informed of all their proceedings, and how they daily increased, threatening destruction to the City, and to all the gentry they could meet with: he then "besought the Kings Ma^{ties} Grace for pardon to be offrid unto" them, "hoping that the offer thereof would both glad a greate numbred of harts that would have remorse of theyr rebellion and to cause the same to revarte and retorne to theyr habitations as faithfull and true subjects are to doe."³ The Council approving of this advice, "one of the Kings Gracis Harrold att armes named Yorke," was sent with him to Norwich, "and by the xxj day of July, then the Even of Mare Magdalen, about noone entred the Cyttie," and having

¹ But few traces of this castle now remain.

² Blomefield.

³ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁴ City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 313b.

refreshed himself, to judge by the following (assuming the accomptant to have mis-dated his entry) ¹

“ Itm to pynchyn's wyfe for brede, drynke, frute, and
oy^r thynges for Mr. Mayer hys brothern and oy^{rs} in } — „ iij „ iiij ”
the cownsell howse, the xx^{ti} July last past

immediately proceeded to the Tree of Reformation, “where the sayde Yorke in his Cote armour in the whole assemblye of people did reade and declare the Kings most gracious pardon to all that wolde humble submit themselves and depart quietly every man to his howse to enjoy the benefyt thereof;” ² he said:—“Harken all you that be heere, and thou Kett, Captaine of mischief, and as many of you as are present, give eare. Although the manner of our ancestors, and the dignitie of this empire, and the majestie of the name of a King, seeme to require, that you, which have wickedly taken upon you armes against your countrie, and have cast yourselves into open conspiracie and rebellion, having been put to flight by sword and fire, should receive due punishment for the wickednesse which ye have committed: yet notwithstanding, so great is the kindnesse and clemencie of the King's Majestie, that those whose heinous offence craveth for condign punishment, of his singular and incredible favour, hee will have preserved with safetie. And therefore comandeth, that forthwith every man lay down his arms; that they forsake the Campe and this denne of theeves, and every one to depart to his owne house. And if you have done this thing, being deceived, ye have your pardon, and warrant of impunitie, of all the evils yee have done: but if yee shall remaine in your former mind, and purpose of wickednesse, he will surely revenge all the hurts and villanies that you have done, as is meet, and with all severitie of punishment. Neither will he suffer any longer remaine, to the overthrow of the whole kingdom, the things that are to be cut off and cannot be healed.” ³ Many, hearing these gracious words, “on theyre knees fell downe giving God and the Kings Ma^{tie} greate thanks for his

¹ City Chamb. Accts., p. 305b.

² N. Sotherton.

³ Wood's Translation.

gracis clemenci and pittis:"¹ others shouted "God save the King's Majestie!" and it seemed, at the moment, as if the pardon would be accepted and the commotion come to an end. But Kett, feeling most likely that he could scarcely expect to be included in the general amnesty, that some would have to suffer as an example, and that he, as their ringleader, would undoubtedly be one of those selected for this purpose, very fiercely and boldly answered:—"Kings are wont to pardon wicked persons, not innocent and just men; they for their part had deserved nothing" [in the way of punishment] "and were guilty to themselves of no crime; and therefore despised such speeches as idle and unprofitable to their businesse."² He further charged his followers not to forsake him, nor to be faint-hearted, but to remember his promise that he would, if need so require, lay down his life for their sake. When he had so said, the herald charged him with high treason, and called him a traitor, and all that took his part. He further commanded John Pettibone, sword-bearer, to arrest him on this charge, "but then they began a stur on every side, this way and that way, striving with no less stout than dangerous contention."² The herald, seeing the people thus speedily fall away (though they had been somewhat pacified by the offers of pardon he had made them), and that Kett's words could so easily rouse them to fury, left the Camp, accompanied by many, who, casting away their weapons, trusted themselves to the King's mercy. All these, with the Mayor and Thomas Aldrich, entered the City, and, as the following entries in the City Chamberlain's Accompts show, having rewarded the herald, proceeded to take such measures as seemed to them best adapted for its defence.

p. 302. "Itm gaf in reward on mary magdalen evyn³ }
to mr. Yorke Harold at armes viij peces of good } iiij „ — „ —
olde soveraigns by comandement of the Cownsell ... }

"Itm paid to ij men that made that night ^{xx}vi⁴ pyllets of } — „ — „ xvj
gonshotte

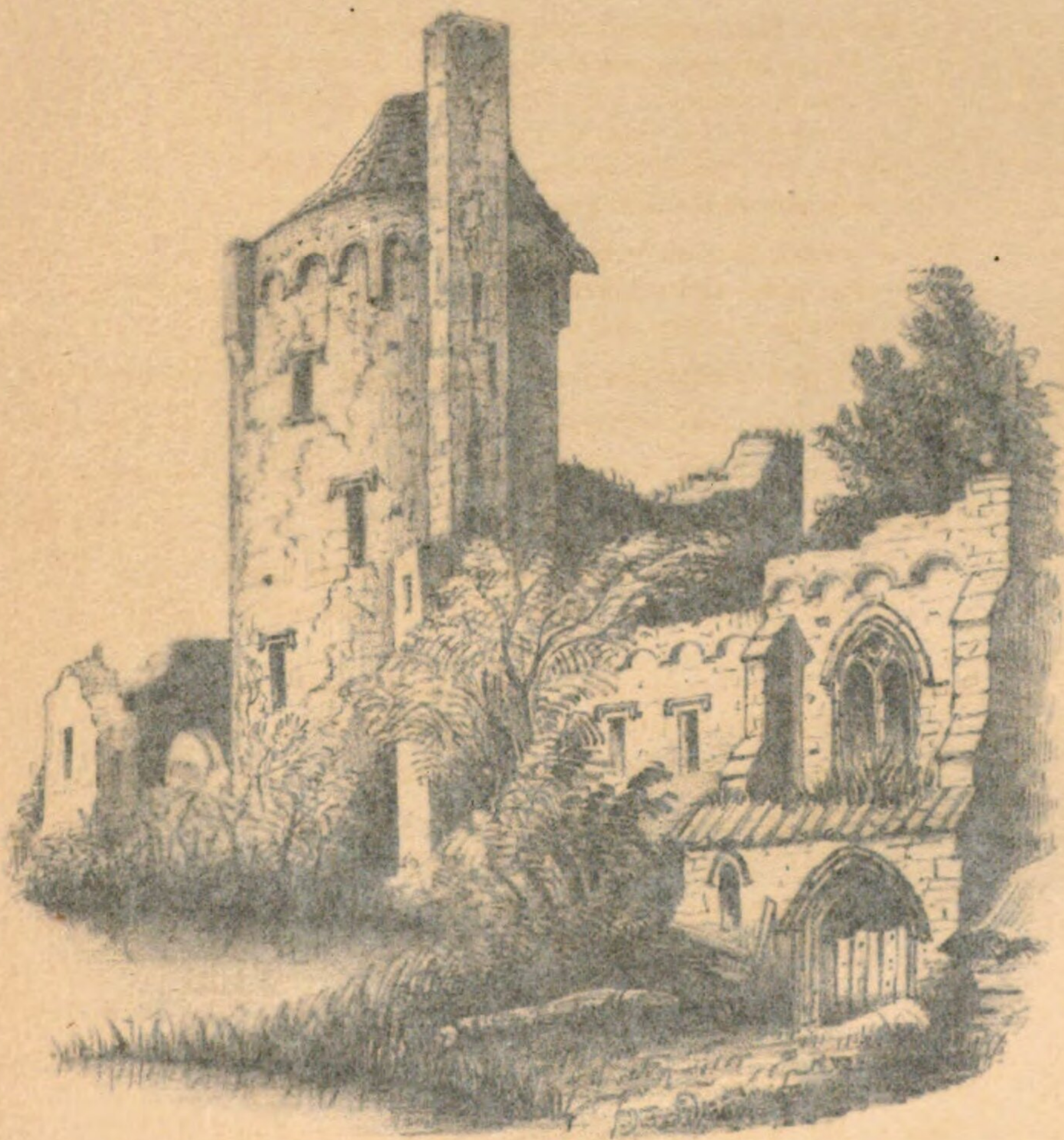
¹ Nicholas Sotherton. ² Wood's Translation. ³ July 21st. ⁴ *I. e.* "six score."

" for cc and xiiij ^{li} lede	— „ x „ viij
and a bundell of large brown paper, and xv ^{li} matchis dyvyded amongst all the gonners that night.	
" Itm for mete and drynke for y ^{em} y ^t nyght	— „ — „ viij
" Itm for wood, ¹ astyll, ² and Candyll	— „ — „ xij
Byshops Gats rampired with erth that night ³	
A pece of ordinaunce carried to the old common stathe yard, the ij brothern of the Appleyerds watchyd that place that night	
Sir Wyllm Pastons ij gret gonnys caryed from the common stathe to the castyl.	
A bondell of small brown paper and match sent to the castyl and common stathe to shote certen yron gonnys ther that came from Caster Hall. ⁴	
" Itm for ij gret Coynes ⁵ for the forsayd Gonnys	— „ — „ viij
" Itm for Matches sent thyther ij ^{li}	— „ — „ xvj
" Itm for drynke for the Gonners ther	— „ — „ iiij
" Itm for lypyns ⁶ for dyvers Gonnys	— „ — „ iiij
" Mr. Tho. Godsalve and a gret company of others kept Sir Will. Pastons gret peces that night in the castyl yarde.	
p. 302b. " Itm to lowthe for xij bolls ⁷ hade y ^t nyght to byshopps gats to carye erth to rampere y ^e gats.....	} — „ — „ xxj
" Item to iiij newe Sholvys ⁸ y ^t was loste ther.....	— „ ij „ —
" Item to Raphe Marsh ^m for ij Sholvys, and to M. Grey for oon Sholve that was borrowed y ^t nyght	} — „ — „ xvij
" Item to Surnard for iiij newe Shoos sit ⁹ upon the Ac- comptants horse y ^t nyght at Mydnyght	} — „ — „ ix

¹ *I. e.* "faggots."² *I. e.* "round wood not split."³ The charge for this is mentioned in C. C. Accts. p. 306 :—

" Itm to Mr. Wardeyn for ij menys labor y^t he payd on
Mary Magdalens evyn for caryeng of erth at
byshopps Gate

⁴ Near Great Yarmouth.⁵ *I. e.* "wedges for adjusting the cannon."⁶ *I. e.* "linch-pins."⁷ *I. e.* "shallow vessels of wood."⁸ *I. e.* "shovels."⁹ *I. e.* "set."



CAISTOR CASTLE.

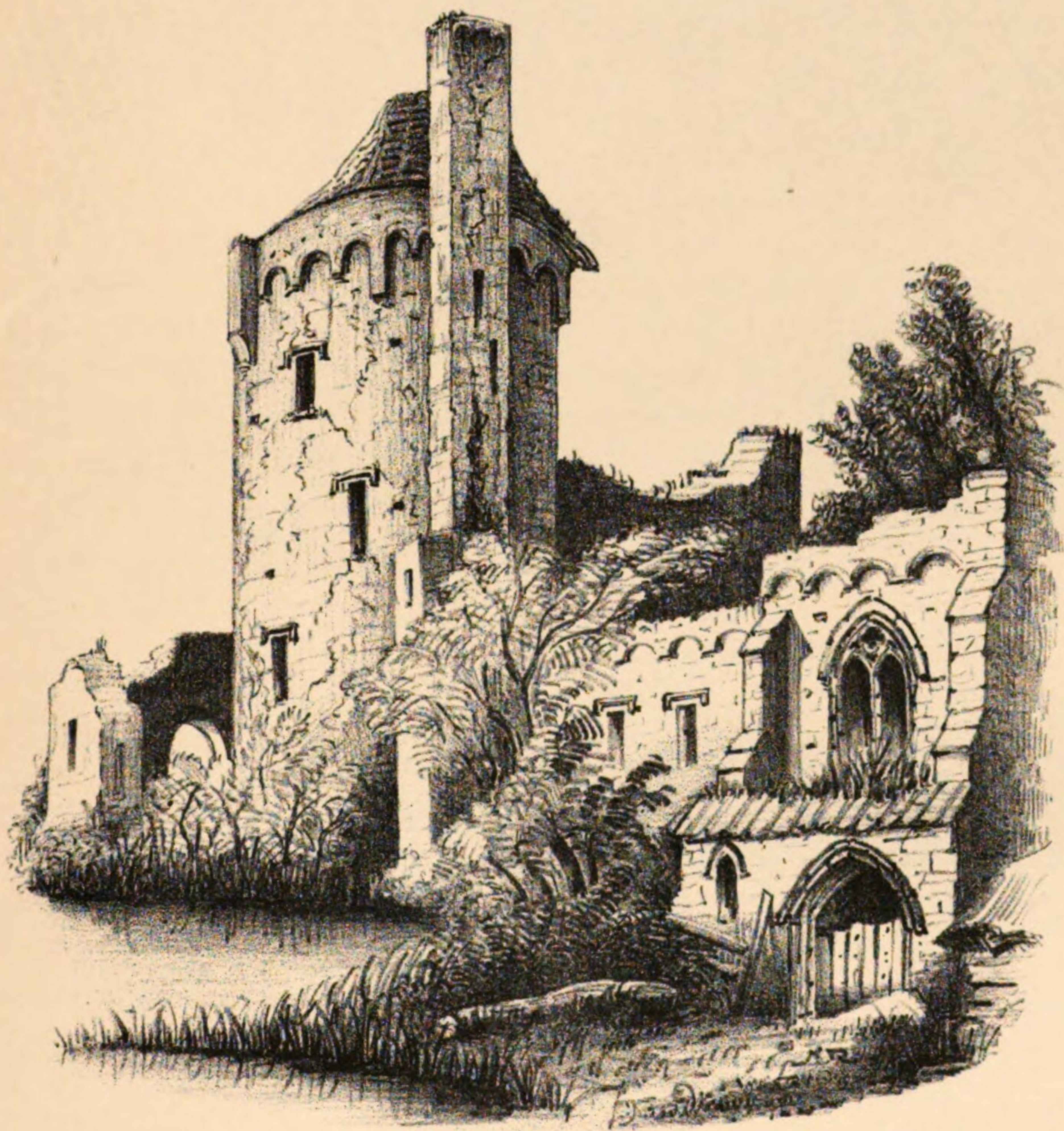
See P. 76.

" Item for 40 and xij th bolls ¹	— " x " viij
and a bundle of large brown paper, and xv th matchis dypted amongst all the gonners that night.	
" Item for castre and dypted for y th y th nyght	— " — " viij
" Item for wood ² castyl ³ and Castyl ⁴	— " — " xij
Byshopps Gate waspored with erth that night ⁵ A p ^{er} of substances carried to the old common castyl gate, the ij brotheren of the Appleyerda waspored that place that night The w th the Pastore ij gret gonnyes caryed from the castyl gate to the castyl.	
A bundle of small brown paper and match sent to the w th and common stathe to shote certen gunnys that came from Caster Hall. ⁶	
" Item for ij gret shovels ⁷ for the forayd Gonnyes	— " — " viij
" Item for shovels ⁸ for the forayd Gonnyes	— " — " xvj
" Item for shovels for the Gonnyes ther	— " — " iiij
" Item for shovels ⁹ for dypted Gonnyes	— " — " iiij
" Item for shovels and a gret company of others kept the w th Pastore gret paces that night in the castyl yards.	
p. 302 th . " Item to lowthe for xij bolls ⁷ hade y th nyght to byshopps gate to carye erth to rampere y ^e gats.....	} — " — " xxj
" Item to ij newe Sholys ⁸ y th was loste ther.....	— " ij " —
" Item to Byshopps Gate for ij Sholys, and to M. Grey for the w th that was borrowed y th nyght	} — " — " xvij
" Item to Byshopps Gate for ij newe Sholys sit ⁹ upon the Ac- c ^{re} that was y th nyght at Mydayght	} — " — " ix

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CAISTOR CASTLE.

See P. 76.

" Itm to Busfylds Wyff for ij dosen bowstryngs for the bowes in the Guyldhalle	} — „ — „ viij
" Itm to dyvse men for plats, nayles, staves and lambskyns, for ladylls and sponges and for makyng of them ...	} — „ ij „ vj
" Itm to Andrew quash for ij plats with certain nayles dd ¹ to Thoms Warlowe, and for other ij plats and nayles dd to Rob ^t Stephynson for makyng ladylls for Gonnys	} — „ ij „ —
" Item p ^d in that monythe for mending the locks to Coslany Gats and a new keye ther	} — „ — „ xij
" Itm to M. Sywhat for mendyng of ij locks at St. Awstens Gates and ij newe keyes ther	} — „ — „ xvj
" Itm to Grene for like charges at Conysford Gats and ij newe keyes ther	} — „ — „ xvj
" Itm to John Elye for mendyng the locke on the brasen ² Tower and a newe keye ther	} — „ — „ viij
" Itm for certen newe keyes and mendyng lockes and yron worke at sondry gats	} — „ ij „ viij
" Itm to a man of the Contry for hys too hand staffs to make sponges for the Gonnys at the old comon Stathe	} — „ — „ ij
" Itm for drynke for the ij Appleyards ³ who watched that place that nyght	} — „ — „ ij
" Itm to brays man and an oyr man y ^t watched upon the Accomptant all that nyght caryeng gonpowd ^r , Sholvys, bolles, staves, and other y ^e forsayd thyngs to the places wer they war occupied	} — „ — „ viij "

In addition to the above, it was thought desirable that "the meanes of transporting victuals be cut off and taken away on every side, in order that the mindes of the rebels being strooken through want, and weary of the warres, might faint at length."⁴

¹ *I. e.* "delivered."

² Brazen-doors. This entrance to the City was so called, according to tradition, from the hinges being of brass; those of the other gates, to judge by the still existing one of St. Benedict's, were of iron.

³ The "ij Appleyards" were most probably John, the owner of Stanfield Hall, and Philip his brother.—*See Blomefield: Windham.*

⁴ Wood's Translation.

When they, together with the gentry previously imprisoned, but now set free, had been for some time discussing these matters, there came to them messengers, in great haste and terror, saying that some of the citizens, being in league with the rebels, had let in many of Kett's followers. In consequence of this, it was thought best to imprison them again, lest being found at liberty by the insurgents, they should perish at their hands. It was afterwards discovered there was no present occasion for this step, since the rebels very speedily returned to the Camp.

Active measures were at once taken for the preservation of the City: ten of the largest cannon¹ they had were posted on the Castle ditches; "and the night drawing on the seid Thomas Codd with thadvise² of his brethren the Aldermen and others of the Cytezins causid good watch and ward to bee kept in especial att the dangeroussest places"³ that if any attack were made in the course of the night, it might be resisted.

The cannon previously mentioned as having been placed on the Castle ditches were, on trial, found of little use in annoying the enemy, the distance being too great; they were therefore transferred to the Hospital meadows, and the whole night was "(for the most part) spent in fearefull shot on both sides."⁴

The Aldermen and Commoners, with their servants, actively bestirred themselves, some in guarding the gates and walls, others in riding from one part to another, and all exerting themselves to the utmost to save the good old City.

The following day, July 22nd, the rebels, finding their cannon had done no harm, brought them down to the foot of the hill, and began the assault again; from which, however, they speedily desisted, want of provisions compelling them to ask the citizens to make a truce for a time. The messengers sent on this errand were James Williams, tailor, and Ralph Sutton, hatter, who, bearing a flag

¹ One, said by tradition to have been used at this time, is still in existence, at the Old Men's Hospital, in Bishop-Bridge Street.

² *I. e.* "the advice."

³ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁴ Wood's Translation.

of truce, on being brought before the Mayor, are said to have spoken to this effect :—

“Our Captain Kett and his soldiers entreat of this City, and of you the Mayor and your brethren, peace and truce for a few days, in order that he may be at liberty (as he recently was) to supply himself with provisions. If you will not grant this, he and they will by force break into the City, and destroy all things with fire and sword.”

To this the Mayor replied : That they were the most wretched traitors, guilty of all disloyalty and of unheard-of villany. He would not, therefore, grant anything to their most iniquitous demands ; nor, if he were willing, was it allowable to do so, especially as they were the most abandoned of men. That they had committed so many, and such intolerable villanies as to deserve the being not only shut out of the City, but also, if it were possible, thrust wholly beyond the pale of human nature itself. That they despised the King's majesty, wasted the country, almost utterly destroyed the City of Norwich, had branded upon themselves and their posterity an everlasting mark of reproach for villany and treason, and that all parts had by their violence and crimes been harassed, polluted, troubled, and laid waste. “And yet you ask to be admitted into the City ? to enjoy the rights of citizens ? to share in their civil and religious privileges ? to have your want of food relieved by them ? What ? do you not repent of the crimes of which you have been guilty ? are you not, at the very least, ashamed of them ? Verily I know not whether they, who have committed such acts are the more wicked, or they who have made this request are the more shameless. Do you hope to obtain them from the Mayor ? from him whom lately you made to suffer the shame and disgrace of imprisonment ? Do you hope to obtain them from this City ? Have you not almost utterly destroyed it, and can you think it will help you now ? But perhaps you think the citizens will aid you : just consider how you have treated them : have you not brought war upon them, with its accompanying violence and terrors ; and do you suppose that they will supply you with corn and pro-

visions to serve as food for your fury? What folly to entertain such hopes! Be off then, be off, and tell Kett, the leader of these most shameful conspirators, That the citizens of Norwich would obey the King's Majesty and not these traitors, wretches that no longer deserve the name of men: while as regards myself, I think nothing of the dangers and horrors you are preparing against the City. Break in, lay waste, destroy, cut down, and overthrow, just as you please; but remember that God is the avenger and punisher of all such doings, and that sooner or later your consciences will rebuke you for the great crimes you have been guilty of:—and remember also, that you will undoubtedly, and at no distant period, meet with the punishment, you will have by your madness and folly drawn down upon yourselves.”¹ Or, in the words of another writer, Codd “answered that neither to cum or have nourishment of the Cytie shuld bee grantyed but defyans utterly as Traytours.”²

When this message was carried back, the rebels with loud outcries ran down the hill, and tried their utmost to break in, but were withstood “every waye,” and especially “wyth Bowmen as they came from the Hyll;”² though, however, “they were shott att wyth gret numbere of arrowes;” yet instead of being alarmed, “soe impudent were they, and soe desperate, that theyr vagabond boyes (literally sans culottes²) came emong the thickest of the arrows and gathered them up, when some of the seid arrows stock fast in theyr Leggs and other parts.”² It is reported also that some, having the arrows sticking fast in their bodies (a thing fearful to tell,) drawing them out of the wounds just received, gave them, as they were dropping with blood, to those who were standing around, that they might again make use of them. This proceeding, as well as that of the boys above mentioned, displaying, as it did, such utter contempt of danger, “soe dysmayd the Archers that it tooke theyr hart from them.”²

No word of commendation has Nevylle for this, or any other act of courage performed by these men. Had it been of some ancient nation he was writing, or had such an incident been recorded of earlier times, or of other than his own people; had distance, whether of time

¹ Nevylle.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

or place, lent its enhancing aid, we may be sure such an act would have come in for its due meed of praise, as a striking example of the great things simple men can do, when the bold spirit of resistance to oppression is thoroughly roused. Instead of this, he describes it as something "horrible to relate."¹

In the mean time a fearful outcry arose in another part of the city, "To arms, To arms: Citizens, if ye be men, to arms: the enemy are within the walls." Many straightway running thither where the cry had been raised, while others of the "Cytizins" happening to be "in theyr howses about theyr businesse," as it was "about xj or xij of the clocke att noone," the rebels determined to avail themselves of the opportunity thus offered them of entering the City: accordingly, "the seid raggyd boyes and desperate vagabons in greate numbere wyth Halbers, spers, swerds, and other weapons, and some wyth pytchforks, &c. hastely came runnyng downe the Hyll and tooke the ryver most desperately merevelous to the beholders,² as soe suddenly abashid them, that the Gonnar fearid to shote there was soe greate a numbere about him: so hee left his ordenaunce and fledd,³ and the rest that watchid, seeing themselves nothing to resist, allsoe hastily departid, when the Rebellis soe followid that happy was hee that" could find the way to his house, and the secret places thereof; and those who succeeded in doing this crept in, and left the City undefended. The "vagabons" before mentioned "unrampired" Bishop's Gate, "and carryed the vj peeces of ordenaunce to the Hylle with the Instruments thereto" belonging: while others "came furth into the Cytie and by the way called the Cytizins Traytours &c. that few or none durst looke out, theyr haste was soe suddeigne uppon them."⁴

The following extracts show the disturbed state of the City:⁵

¹ "Horrendum dictu."—*Neville*.

² "Rem ausi sunt non modò visu mirabilem, sed et auditu profectò incredibilem."—*Neville*.

³ Nicholas Sotherton says: "For want of powder the shott followed not, neyther were the Gonnars perfynt in the Cytie to ordar theyr peeces:" want of powder, together with want of skill, was sufficient excuse for his acting thus. See Appendix (P).

⁴ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁵ City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 303.

"*Magdalen Day*.¹ Itm Here ys to be notyd, that the next day beyng Mary Magdalen Day, the chamberlayns servyse don the night before, and specyally for makynge of the gonshot,² was bewrayed by John Fyshman to traytor Ket, so that he sent to hys howse about lxxx men, of which number Robert Yysod, tanner, John Barker, bocher, Echard, myller of Heyham, were chieffe messengers, which persons caryed the chamberlain to the Guyldhall, and ther took away oon hole barrell of gunpowder and a remnant of another barrell that be left the night before, and certen yron pyllets and lede pyllets, that servyd for the yronsling, and certen mores³ pykes that lay over the sembly chambyr, and compellyd him to pay for lyne and a maunde⁴ to carry the sayd pelfer⁵ vj^d.

"Itm they came ageyn to the chamberlayn's howse, and tooke from thense cxx pyllets of lede that war made the nyght before, and also they tooke from him in corn, paper, and serpentyn⁶ powder of his own goods to the sum of vij^{li} and odd money, and besydes that compellyd hym to pay for a new ferkyn to put in the gunshote v^d and for lyne to truss and carry the pelfer⁵ with iij^d.

The Herald at Arms seeing the sad state of affairs, inasmuch as "his commission served for two daies,"⁷ did not leave the City, though it now seemed utterly in the rebels' power, who passed to and fro as they pleased; but went, accompanied by the Mayor and many of the citizens, into the market-place, and there again in the King's name he commanded them, That they should lay down their arms, leave the Camp, depart severally to their own homes, and avail themselves of that mercy and pity which the King was so ready to show them: that if they did this, they should be safe and free from all fear of punishment; while if they did not, they might expect "grievous torments, bitter death, and all extremity:"⁸ but they utterly rejected his offers, "and cryed and howlid and showtyd as" though "they had wonne theyr purpose even the wholle way as they went to the Crosse of the market, to the greate admiration of the Harrold and all the Cyttie."⁷ When he had finished speaking, they cried out: "Let him be off: plague take him with his empty promises: he must be mad to think he could, with his fine speeches, come round them to

¹ July 22nd.

³ Powerful pikes, called also morris pikes.

⁵ *I. e.* "things pilfered or stolen."

⁷ Nicholas Sotherton.

² See p. 75.

⁴ *I. e.* "hand-basket."

⁶ Very inflammable powder.

⁸ Wood's Translation.

their utter ruin. They detested and downright hated such mercy, as seemed to hold out the hope of pardon, while in reality it cut off all chance of safety." The herald, finding it beyond his power to influence them, either by threats of punishment or offers of forgiveness, "accompanied wth Austin Styward Alderman and others, seeing theyr rudenes and partly fearing theyr desperatenes, desyred the seid Mr. Styward to bring him out of the Cytte, which after hee was brought furth St. Stephens gate departed straight to the Corte, the Cytte with the Rebellis being in greate rowre, which still went howling abroade the Cytte."¹ The following describes one act of violence perpetrated at this time, while it also strikingly illustrates what may not unjustly be called the good-nature of the insurgents, and their readiness to be deterred from perpetrating an act of cruelty:²

"Itm the next day being the xxij July a gret sorte of the same company with others to the nombyr of c persons at the leste, came ageyn to the accomptants howse and tooke away of his own goods ij bows, iij sheffe of arrows, with cases and gyrdylls, iij alman halberds, ij black bylls, certen clubbys and stavys, ij almayn ryvetts as fayer as any war in Norwych, and a jack of fustyan, and also carryed hym away wyth them to Mushold to have hym to the tre for makyng of the forsayd gunshotte, and by the way he intretyd them so that they caryed him to Norwiche bothe, wher he gaf them for remyssyon from goyng to the tre iij^s iij^d."

Immediately after his departure, they commanded Leonard Sotherton to be brought before them, "meaning to him and his to doe some mischiefe, for that hee was one that browte downe the pardon, in soe much that both Leonard and his brethren from thence furth durst noe more to bee seene abroade,"¹ but, in fear of their lives, hid themselves privily amongst their friends and kindred.

Kett then ordered the Mayor, Robert Watson, William Rogers, alderman, John Homerson, alderman, William Brampton,³ gent., Thomas Aldrich, "and divers others of worship," to be apprehended, "whome they carryed prisoners to theyr Campe and putt them in hold in Surry place, where they remayned in chaines and fetters unto

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 303.

³ This is probably the same Mr. Brampton as is mentioned p. 7.

the last daye" of the commotion: "some by Gods provision was savid and some dyed,"¹ either naturally or were cruelly slain.²

While these things and the like were tumultuously done in the Camp, Kett, seeing clearly the perilous position in which he stood; that he either must win a blood-stained victory over his country, or would meet with such an end as his opponents considered him worthy of; applied himself vigorously to increase his forces, sending in divers directions "his Embassadors to rayse the whole Country, by which means resortid to him a greate numbred,"¹ "allured by rewards, and faire promises, and men that had nothing to take to, and were without hope of anything. * * * Whereupon, it is incredible to tell how great and almost innumerable multitudes of gracelesse persons on the sodaine were assembled."³

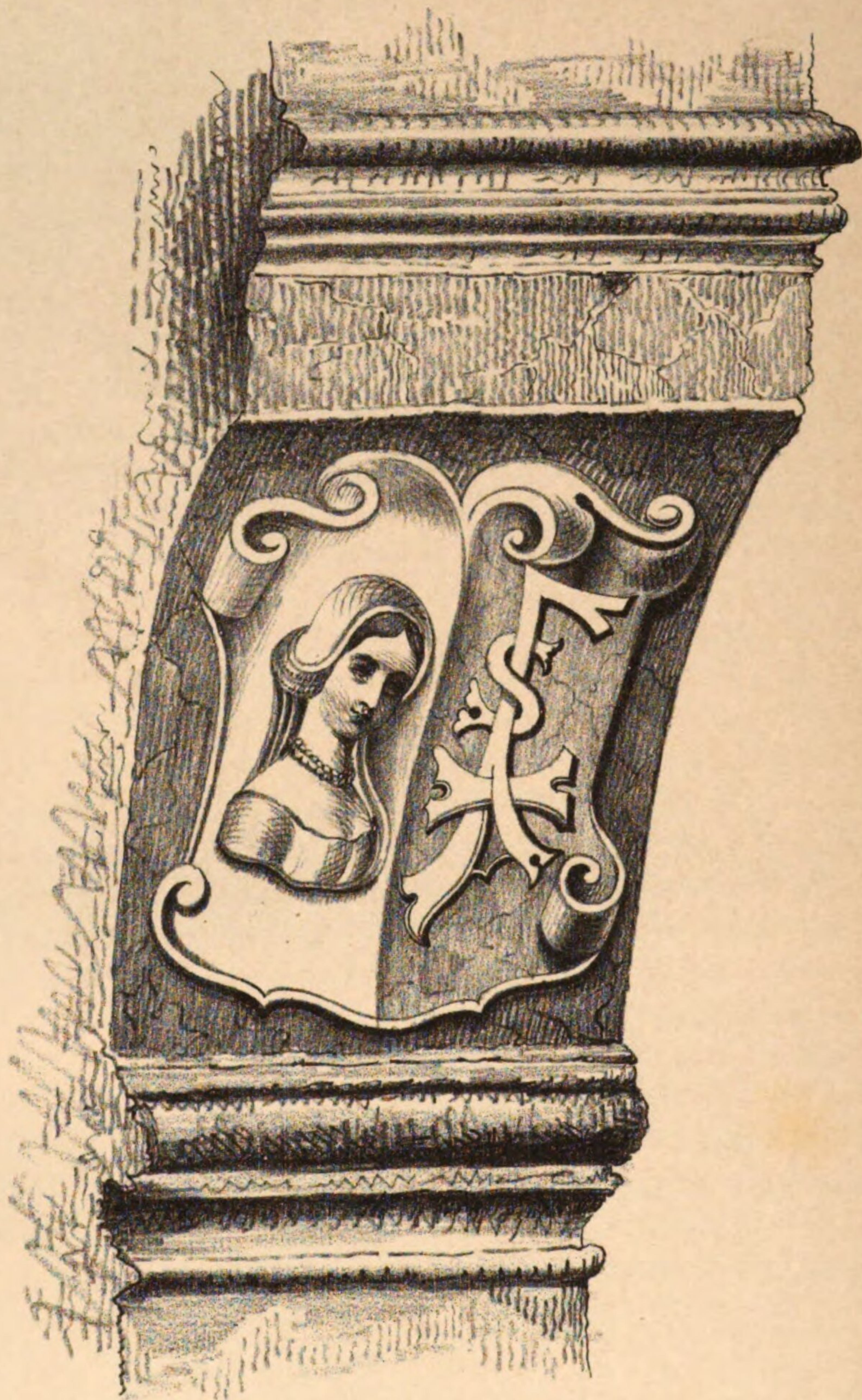
The treatment the Mayor met with gave great offence to the well-disposed amongst the citizens: they could not bear to think that he was kept bound by the rebels, that insult should be added to injury, and that he should be exposed to the fear of a sudden and violent death. One of their jests at the Mayor's expense has been preserved: "being called Codde by name, and there is a fish of the sea called after the same manner, * * in contempt of the worthy Maior's name, and to his no little danger, one varlet ministring occasion unto another of laughter and scoffing, they made an O yes; and cryed, As many as would come to the Campe tomorrow, should buy a Cod's head for a penny."³ Under the impression that he was in danger, the citizens came to Thomas Aldrich, and complained of these things. He, being very popular,⁴ had great influence amongst the rebels, so that "neither his advice nor enterprises were at any time in vaine;" and "much of the goods the rebels had taken away by force, through his industry were restored again to the owners, and

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² Nevylle. I have given Nevylle's statement, though I cannot help thinking he would have mentioned such cases individually, if his account had been true.

³ Wood's Translation.

⁴ By reason of his "good modesty, for which hee was beloved of Cyttie and Countrye."
—*Nicholas Sotherton.*



AUGUSTINE STEWARD'S MARK.

on his House on Tombland.

See P. 85.

many attempts of the seditious, by his providence and diligence were restrained." ¹ When he understood in what peril the Mayor was, he came to Kett and advised that he be set at liberty: Kett said not a word, but remained like one fixed in thought: then Aldrich cried with a loud voice, "Art thou not ashamed, wretched traytour, to hold in prison and irons, I say, not alone an harmlesse man, but a Maior, which is the King's Majesties most faithfull lieutenant? Art thou so fierce and cruel, that when, through ryot and excesse, thou hast wasted the goods and commodities of all men, thou canst now not be satisfied, nor filled, except thou mayest drinke up at last also the blood of innocent persons? Therefore thou, the wretchedest man the earth beareth, command him forthwith to bee brought out of prison." ²

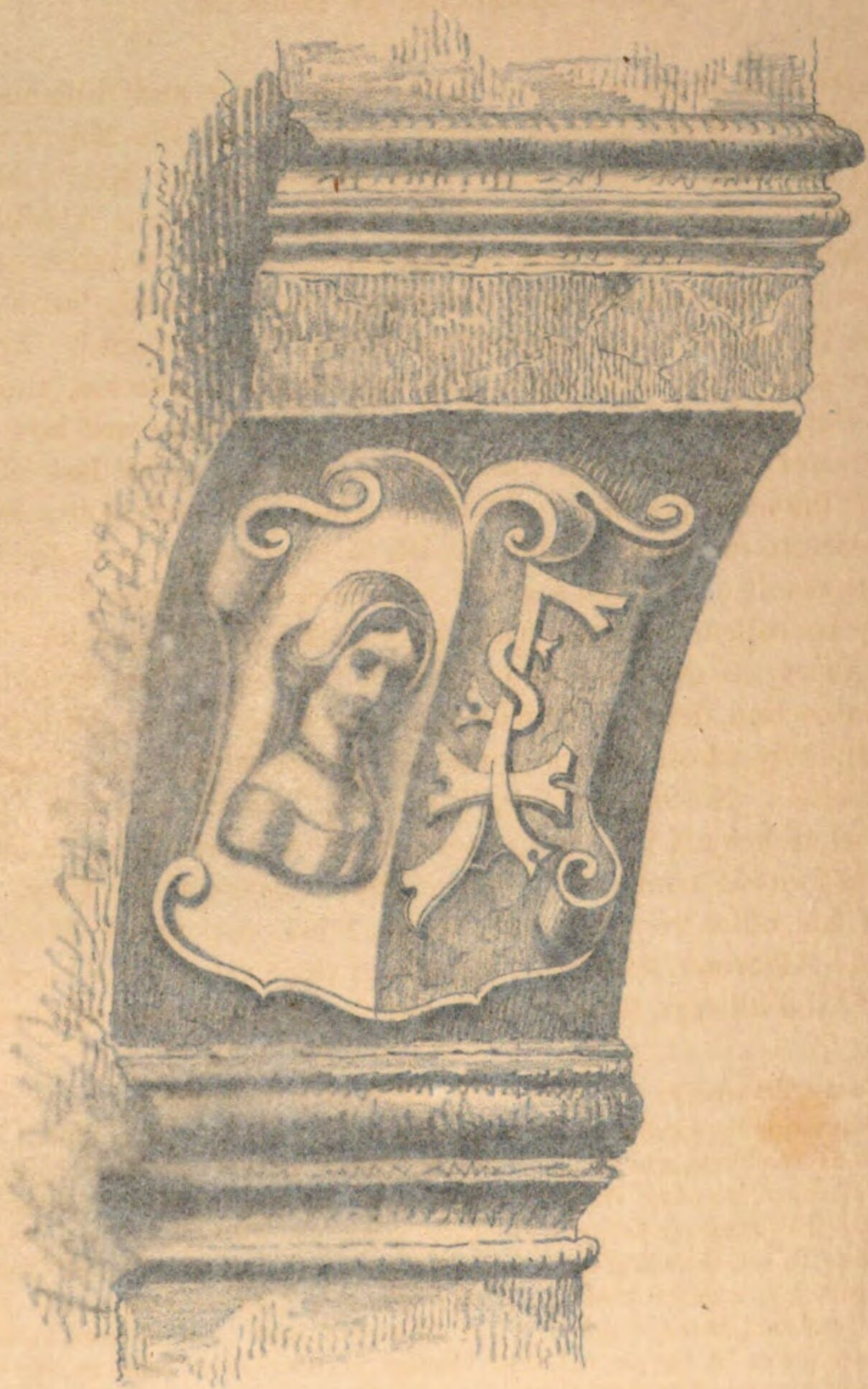
The result of Aldrich's speech was that his command—for it can scarcely be called request—was obeyed, and the Mayor had "many tymes liberty to goe and cum into the Cyttie," ³ thus escaping the annoyances and dangers to which, as a prisoner, he might have been exposed: "by whose advice prudently was as many evils foreseene as might bee." ⁴ Since, however, "the seid Mayour was feine for the worst part to bee att the Camp to see the best ordre there," and could not therefore sit continually in the government of the City, as the duty of his office required him to do, "hee appoynted Mr. Austen Styward" Alderman to bee his depute in the Cyttie, whoe very wisely "did allways forsee evylls, and for that hee had allways bin a

¹ Wood's Translation.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ "Augustine Steward, mercer, Mayor 1534, 1546, and 1556: M. P. 1541. He lived in a house on Tombland, now a butcher's shop, exactly opposite the Erpingham Gate, in the front of which is a stone bracket, with his mark impaling the Mercers' arms, and the date 1540. His property extended along the north and west sides of the churchyard, now Prince's Street, including the site of an ancient building called Prince's Inn, which probably gave name to the street. Kirkpatrick says: 'In the Prince's Inn house, in St. Andrew's Tombland, there is carved, upon an old-fashioned piece of work, such as was usually then placed at the end of their benches in their great halls, an escutcheon: viz. a lion rampant with head ragulye, trunked, (Styward) impaling on a bend wavy 3 birds, a border ingrailed roundelly. (Rede). And upon another such thing his mark, which likewise appears upon seals to deeds dated 1523 and 1535.'" — *Norfolk Archaeol.* vol. iii. p. 202.

His likeness is in St. Andrew's Hall, and his mark, mentioned in the above note, is still in existence.



AUGUSTINE STEWARDS MARK.

on his House on Tombland.

See P. 85.

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good and modest man, hee was beloved of poore and rich,"¹ and all readily obeyed him. He, taking unto him Henry Bacon,² Alderman, and John Atkins, then Sheriffs, "kept the Cytezins except the most vagrand and vacabond persons in good quiet."¹ During this time the gentlemen, held in confinement by the rebels, suffered many indignities, and some were probably slain: the following was the manner of proceeding: "Kett, openly, all men beholding him, went upon the oke" daily, "which they called the Oke of Reformation," and then "dyd call the Gent[lemen] prisoners before him, which was not done wythout the whole multitude, and" with regard to "them they had no complainte of they cryed 'A good man, A good man;'" while as regards "the others that were complained of they cryed 'Hang him, Hang him,'"³ wythout further judgement, yea though the seid Gentlemen by eny ways made to them intercession and promysed them amendment, soe maliciously were they bent:"¹ and this they did "although they were utterly ignorant of the man in question, whether white or black, old or young (as one whose name was never heard of before) yet after this manner they were always wont to cry out. And in this manner these traytors, not led by judgment or reason, (lest they should be unlike themselves) but led by a certaine blinde and headlong rage of the minde, (as by a mighty tempest) oftentimes without a word, and as it were with a madde nod of their furies, they inflicted most cruell punishment upon innocent and just men. And surely so great was the strength of the disease, and as it were corrup-

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² "Henry Bacon, grocer, Mayor in 1557 and 1566. His mark and initials are over the south entrance of a large corner house, formerly his residence, and now the People's College. It is situated opposite the east end of the church, and built with flint. Kirkpatrick says: 'On the ruddle screen of the hall are three racks, the upper with five, each of the others with four places to hang the maces on, belonging to the officers of the Mayor and Sheriffs.' About fifty years since, a large room on the first floor was lined with fine oak panelling, and the chimney-piece elaborately carved; all of which was about that time removed to the mansion of — Tompson, Esq., of Witchingham."—*Norf. Archæol.* vol. iii. p. 201.

³ From the strong feeling entertained by Neville and Sotherton, I cannot help thinking that, had this threat been carried out, the names and other particulars connected with those who suffered, would have been preserved.

tion that possessed the mindes of them all; as being almost without sense, and through the crueltie of so great villany hardened; they violated all lawes of God and man with their great fury and boldnesse."¹

It is uncertain how long this lawless state continued without any attempt being made to check it: one account says, "a few days having intervened,"² while another,³ "after xiiij or xvj daies," *i. e.* after the herald's departure; but as he left on the 23rd July, at the latest, and as the battle on the Palace Plain was fought August 1st, "a few days" is the correct statement. The Council would, when they heard of the state of affairs, undoubtedly lose no time, but with all despatch send forces to "represe theis Rebellis." Accordingly, the supreme command was entrusted to William Parr,⁴ Marquis of Northampton, who was accompanied by "the Lord Sheffeyld,⁵ the old lord Waydsworth⁶ and" a "number of Knyghts, as S^r Anthony Denny,⁷

¹ Wood's Translation.

² Nevylle.

³ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁴ William Par, son and heir of Sir Thomas Par of Kendal, by Maud, daughter of Sir Thomas Greene, of Green's Norton, in Northamptonshire. Henry, upon his marriage with this gentleman's sister (Katharine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer), created him Baron Par of Kendal, and soon after revived in him the Earldom of Essex, in consequence of his having taken to wife Anne Bouchier, daughter and sole heir of Henry, the last earl of that ancient family. On the accession of Edward VI. he was created Marquis of Northampton; in the fourth year of the same king was constituted Lord Great Chamberlain for life; and the next year was sent to invest the King of France with the order of the Garter. He died 1571, and was buried in the collegiate Church of Warwick.—*Lodge's Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 64.

⁵ "Edmund Sheffield was advanced to the peerage on the 16th February, 1547 (two days before the coronation of Edward Sixth), in the dignity of Baron Sheffield, of Butterwike, in the county of Lincoln. The next year" [Burke is here mistaken; it was in 1549], "his lordship having accompanied the Marquess of Northampton to suppress the rebellion of Ket, in Norfolk, lost his life in the conflict. He had married the Lady Anne Vere, daughter of John, Earl of Oxford, and left one son and three daughters." The honours and male line of this family having ultimately become dukes of Normanby and Buckingham, became extinct in 1735.—*Burke's Extinct Peerages*. See Appendix (Q).

⁶ *I. e.* "Wentworth." Thomas Wentworth, Esq., son of Sir Richard Wentworth, Knt., of Nettlested, in the county of Suffolk, was summoned to parliament, by writ, as Baron Wentworth.—*Burke's Extinct Peerages*.

⁷ Sir Anthony Denny, in the reign of Henry VIII., had been Gentleman of the Privy Council and Groom of the Stole. He was the only one, amongst the courtiers,

S^r Ralphe Sadler, S^r Rychard a Lee,¹ S^r Rychard Southwell, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Paston,² Sir Henry Bedingfield,³ Sir John Suliard, Sir William Walgrave, Sir John Cutts, Sir Thomas Cornwallles,"⁴ "and dyvers other Knights⁵ Squyers and Gentyllmen and dyvers Italians strangers and others to the number of xij or xiiij C persons."⁶ When he had arrived within a mile of the City he sent a

who dared to apprise his royal master of his approaching dissolution. Henry had, however, so high an esteem for Sir Anthony, that he could perform the sad office with impunity, and the monarch presented him with a magnificent pair of gloves worked in pearls. Sir Anthony was also constituted one of the executors of his deceased sovereign. His grandson, Sir Edward, was created Earl of Norwich, but the title became extinct in 1660.—*Burke, Extinct Peerages.*

¹ "Pore Syr Richard a Lee," says Paget in a letter to Somerset, viii. of Maye, 1549 (State Paper Office, Domestic, Edward VI. vol. vii. No. 5), "this afternoon, after your grace had very sore, and to much more then neded, rebuked him, came to my chambre weping, and there, complayning (as farre as became him) of your handeling of him, semed almost owt of his wyt, and owt of hart your grace, be assured, hath put him cleane."

² One of that ancient and "worshipful" family the Pastons, whose seat was at Paston, and subsequently at Oxnead, Norfolk. In the reign of Charles II. Sir Robert Paston was created Baron Paston of Paston, and Viscount Yarmouth, both in the county of Norfolk. He was afterwards raised to the earldom. He was succeeded by his son, William Paston, who died 1732, leaving no male issue, whereupon, the male line of his brothers having previously ceased, the Barony, Viscounty, and Earldom became extinct.—*Burke, Extinct Peerages.*

³ Sir Henry Bedingfield, Knt., was one of the first who declared for Mary, on the death of Edward VI., and came to her Majesty's assistance with 140 men armed *cap-a-pié*, while at Framlingham Castle, Suffolk. During Mary's reign he was made Governor of the Tower, and had charge of the Princess Elizabeth, who, on ascending the throne, dismissed him from court, saying, "whenever she had a state prisoner who required to be hardly handled and strictly kept, she would send for him." Their chief seat is at Oxburgh Hall, one of the most perfect specimens of castellated mansions in the kingdom.

⁴ Subsequently slain at the same time as Lord Sheffield.

⁵ The names of two of these knights have been preserved; one, Sir John Cleere, being mentioned in the letter of the Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury and also by Nevylle; and the other, Sir Edward Ward (Sotherton) or Warner (Nevylle), being described as Knight Marshal.

⁶ N. Sotherton.—King Edward, in his Journal, states: "The peple sodenly gathered together in Norfolk and encreased to a great number, against whom was the L. Marquise Northampton sent with the nombre of 1,060 horsmen." It is conjectured by the editor of King Edward's Journal, printed for the Roxburgh Club, that this should be 1,600. The word "hors" has the appearance of an interpolation, or a correction.



AUGUSTINE STEWARD.
From the Painting in St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich.

See P 89.

herald, Norroy King at Arms, to summon it to yield, and if it would not, to declare war against it. When all things usual in such cases had been proclaimed and done in the City, "the said Awsten Seward, depute for the Mayour," having understood it to be "the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure to bee receivd into the Cittie wyth his power, the said Awsten, being in Person att the said gates of St. Martin, hastily gave notice thereof to the Mayour then," very much against his will,¹ "wyth Kett in the Campe, whoe, by noe meanes would suffer the said Mayour from him to depart, but kept hym prisoner."² The message sent back by the Mayor was to this effect: "That never any thing happened more grievous unto him at his life-time than these evils, which having been brought in of most seditious persons, have almost over-turned with villany that cannot be atoned for the country and City of Norwich, flourishing before. That (as much as by man's reason could be foreseene) hee had used all diligence that these tumults might have been restrayned at the beginning: yet he could not bring it to that passe, by reason of the rage of the misdoers, wherewith the mindes of all were holden intangled. That he had endured the terror of imprisonment, the perill of death, finally all security at their hands, and at this time was holden in the Campe, with a guard of souldiers round about him. Otherwise he would have gone himselfe without delay (as was meet) to the Marquess of Northampton. Neverthelesse, that the City might be kept the better in order, he had given his authority of government to Augustine Seward, a very carefull and wise man: lest, in his absence, the people through ignorance might fall away from their duty. That the City should be at his commandement, and himselfe (if Kett would permit) would willingly come out of the Campe and receive him, and commit his owne and the state of the City to his protection."³ This answer of the Mayor was carried quickly by the herald to the Marquis. In compliance with Codd's request, his Deputy, with the sheriffs, and a great multitude of citizens following, went immediately to the army

¹ "Invitissimum hunc antea diximus in Ketti castris detentum."—*Neville*.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ Wood's Translation.



AUGUSTINE STEWARD.

From the Painting in St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich.

See P. 43

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¹ "Invitissimum hunc antea diximus in Ketti castris detentum."—*Neville*.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ Wood's Translation.

of Northampton, unto whom, after "hee had kissed the Swerd,"¹ he delivered it, being, as it is, a sign of the King's Majesty's presence, and of his authority, and in the chief cities of England is wont always to be carried before the Mayor. Having expressed his regret at the Mayor's compulsory absence, he added, "that he and the chief of the City were come to deliver up the City, themselves, and all that they had, to the authority of the King: they confessed there were many of the citizens who could not be deterred; but would needs consent to the rebels: that the greatest part of the best citizens, however, remained still in their faith and allegiance, and had not joined themselves with the others, nor in any respect conspired against the King's Majesty; and that those now present were ready and willing to do whatever should be enjoined them, and to receive him and his army into the City." Northampton again encouraged the hearts of the citizens with good words, promised he would take care of them, and had good hope that ere long the spirit of violence, wherewith now so many were inflamed, would speedily be suppressed. When he had made an end of speaking, he delivered the sword to Sir Richard Southwell, who carried the same bareheaded before him, an honour by ancient custom always given to the King's lieutenants. Entering at Saint Stephen's Gate, he proceeded to the Council-chamber, where he "refreshyd him and drank a Cup of Wine,"¹ and partook of divers good things, as the following extract² shows:

"Itm more to hyr [*i. e.* Pynchyn's wife] for brede,
drynke, mete, wyne, fruite and other thyngs for my
lord Marques in the Cownsell chambyr [*imme*]dy-
atly aft^r his entrans into the Cyte

} — „ iiij „ viij

"Itm to Norman for sug^r 1^{lb} spent ther — „ — „ xiiij"

He then gave commandment that all the citizens should come into the market-place, where they long consulted, and many things of many were devised, as well for the defence of the City, as for restraining the assaults of the enemy.

Then were appointed watch and ward upon the walls, and at the

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 305*b*.

City gates; and in all places, if any were thought too weak, armed men were placed to be ready in case of need.

These things having been thus arranged, Northampton went to the house of the Mayor's Deputy, and supped there with his company of nobles and gentlemen: when supper was ended, although, through the length of the journey, and heat of the weather, all in the house were weary, yet without taking off their armour, they prepared to spend the night in the Deputy's gallery, lying "uppon Cushions and pillows,"¹ ready at a moment's notice to be up and doing. As we recall those times, the contrast is not a little striking between the present humble tenants of Steward's house, and those, the noble lords, brave knights and gallant gentlemen, who then, tired out with their march, were glad to rest beneath its hospitable roof: and as we pass through the quiet churchyard, along two sides of which his house extended, it seems almost impossible to believe, that the deep stillness of this peaceful spot was ever so rudely broken, as it must have been, by the stirring events of that memorable night.

The same day certain Italians skirmishing with the rebels, and many wounds being given on both sides, one of the foreigners advancing very boldly, the multitude surrounded him, and at length, having taken him, put him to a shameful death: for, stripping off all his garments and armour (very costly and cunningly wrought), they hung him upon an oak² on Mount Surrey, with many revilings and insults before his death. The miserable death of so worthy a soldier was much lamented, and many would with a great sum, as much as £100, willingly have ransomed him, if it had been possible. Shortly after, by the providence of God, who suffereth not the wicked to continue long, nor the shedding of innocent blood to go unavenged, Cayme himself, the author of this cruel deed, suffering the same kind of death, received his due reward.³

The Marquis fearing the breaking in of the enemy in the night,

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² Nicholas Sotherton says he "was hanged over the walls" of Mount Surrey, "by a wretched Rebell, one Cayme of Bongeye, although there would have bin given a C^{li} for his life;" so also Holinshed.

³ Nevylle.

commanded the porters and watchmen on the walls and at the gates "more painefully and diligently than commonly they were wont"¹ to go their rounds. Their eyes and minds being thus prepared, if peradventure any tumult should be raised in the night, it might easily, with their help, and without any great ado, be met and resisted. All this was faithfully performed, while, at the same time, the soldiers watched in the market-place, where, gathering great heaps of wood together, they set them on fire, lest if anything should happen on the sudden, they being hindered by the darkness of the night and ignorance of the place, might be encompassed unawares by the enemy.

"Sir Edward Ward was the Knight Marshall, and gave the Watchword."² To Sir Thomas Paston, Sir John Clere, Sir William Walgrave, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, and Sir Henry Bedingfield, men of approved valour and wisdom, divers parts of the City were intrusted, who performed their duties valiantly, continually going from one part to another, encouraging and animating the men, "sometimes with their words, sometimes with their countenance, sometimes with their own travell and labour."¹ And thus by their wise counsels they strove to hinder the enterprises of the rebels.

All things having been done to their liking, the Marquis and all his company, with the exception of those just mentioned, to whom the defence of the City had been committed, being wearied with their three days' travel, proposed now to take their rest: but when they were "in their sweete sleepe," in the dead of night, the rebels, as if they were about to break in, discharged their ordnance, and uttered loud outcries: the cannon, however, did no great harm, either because they were overcharged in the loading, or the unfaithful hands of the gunners, of set purpose, levelled them higher than was requisite, having been, as is thought by some, bribed to do so.

These proceedings excited such alarm, that the watchmen on the walls, and keepers of the gates, cried often, "To arms! To arms!"

When "the Rebellis" had "made alarum in divers parts of the Cittye, the seyd Knight Marshall reysid up the Lord Lieuetenant with

¹ Wood's Translation.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

his Lords, Knights, and others, and they in half armour"¹ proceeded to the market-place, "where the whole power was in rydenes² till the day spring."¹ The Deputy was sent by the Marquis and Lord Sheffield to "the old Lord Weinfeld,³ to S^r Anthony Denny, S^r Rafe Sadler, and S^r Richard a Lee, sitting in a stall of the market, whoe advysed the rampering up of divers places," especially on that side which was farthest from the insurgents, "for the better keeping the Cittye with fewer men."¹

While matters were in this state, the rebels all at once, as a rushing stream, came pouring down from Mousehold with confused cries, and entered the City, where some proceeded to set the gates⁴ on fire, and to hew them down; others to climb upon the walls; some to swim across the river; many to pass in through the breaches of the old walls.⁵ Northampton's men resisted boldly, repulsed them valiantly on every side, manfully drove them back, and with pikes, arrows, swords, and other instruments of war, put them to flight; so that the force of their incursions by little and little being broken, they began somewhat to waver and to think of retreating. The fight was fierce on both sides; the one party striving to force their way into the City, and the other doing their utmost to keep them out. For the space of about three hours the contest lasted, and was very fiercely sustained in divers parts of the City; and had it not been for the valour of Paston, Walgrave, and the rest of the gentlemen, together with "the exceeding desire of our men to fight"⁶ that night, without doubt, would have seen the utter destruction of the Royal force. The spirit of Kett's followers was such that, even when they had fallen down deadly wounded, they yet would not give over, but half dead, "drowned in their own and other men's bloud, even to the last gaspe, furiously withstood our men. Yea, many also strooken thorow the brests with swords, and the synewes of their legs cut

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² *I. e.* "readiness."

³ Lord Wentworth.

⁴ From the City Chamberlain's Accompts (Appendix I), it appears that the gates most injured were Pockthorpe, Fybridge, and St. Stephen's gates.

⁵ See Appendix (R), Privy Council Reg. Edw. VI. vol. ii. p. 98.

⁶ Wood's Translation.

asunder, (I tremble to rehearse it,) yet creeping on their knees, were mooved with such furie, as they wounded our souldiers, lying amongst the slaine almost without life.”¹ And all honour to them, brave men that they were, worthy of the cause for which they fought, and worthy of a better fate! Opinions may be divided as to the justness of their proceedings in taking up arms; but as we read of this, and similar displays of undaunted courage, we cannot but admire them, and give them the honour so justly their due. At length, the force of the enemy abating, the soldiers rushed upon them with such violence, that they could no longer abide the fight, or stand to resist; but being overthrown, and beaten down on every side with great slaughter (three hundred having fallen), they were driven out of the City, and returned to their Camp. The Marquis lost but few of his men, though many were wounded. “The rest of that night that remained (and there remained but little) they gave unto their rest.”¹

In the morning, “after breakfast at the Maydeshead,”² of which it is just possible the labourers who had been employed rampiring the Gates “till viij of the Clock” were allowed to partake, the Deputy, “seeing Norrice the Harrold with a Trumpetter riding through tomlond”³ was exceeding glad to find that this was in consequence of certain citizens having signified to the Marquis, that there were many in Kett’s Camp whose fury was greatly abated; that these might easily be persuaded to remember their duties, and being weary of the insurrection, to desist from it; that there were now abiding at Pockthorpe Gates, four or five hundred⁴ men, ready “to submit themselves and receive the King’s pardon;”⁵ and that, if this were offered them, they would most probably lay down their arms, and commit themselves to the King’s mercy.

The herald, with a trumpeter, being joined by the Deputy, who “was glad and for joy went with them,”⁵ came speedily to Pock-

¹ Wood’s Translation.

² The Maid’s Head, opposite St. Simon’s Church, still so called.

³ Tomblond.

⁴ Nevylle says “four or five thousand;” but Sotherton, whose account I have followed, “iiij or v c persons.”

⁵ Nicholas Sotherton.

thorpe Gates, where, to their surprise they found no one waiting, "neither man, woman, nor child."¹ The herald, however, having caused the trumpet to be sounded, some from the Camp flocked down the hill, and amongst them one John Flotman of Beccles, who came as their leader. Having been with a loud voice commanded to stand, he straightway inquired what the matter was, and why they were summoned to parley by the sound of a trumpet? whereupon the herald answered:—

"Go thy way and declare unto thy company from the Marquis of Northampton, governour of the King's forces, that the King's Majesty doth command and admonish them, that now, at length, they repent and put an end to the outrages they were committing: if they will do this, they shall be safe, and shall by his clemency be free from perill, and no man shall be charged with the crimes he may have been guilty of."

Flotman, being joined by "a xx^{ty} persons more,"¹ since he was of a ready tongue, "an outrageous and busie fellow,"² is reported to have answered in a proud and threatening manner:—

"With regard to the Marquis of Northampton, he thought nothing of him, being, as he was, a man of neither courage, counsel, nor good fortune; he despised and mortally hated him, as infamous, worthless, always standing in need of others' help, and as one guilty of all disloyalty and treason. They, for their parts, had always been earnest defenders of the King's safety and dignity, and would ever be ready to spend, for his sake, all their goods and fortunes. They had taken arms, not against the King, but for those things which they hoped would be hereafter for his welfare and their own: neither were they convicted by their consciences, either of wickedness conceived in their hearts, or of treason against the King. For what is it they are desirous of doing? Is it not to defend the King's name and dignity; to provide for the common safety; to defend the rights of law and liberty; to preserve themselves, their wives, children, and goods; and finally to deliver the common-wealth,

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² Holinshed.

vexed in many ways unjustly, from the detestable pride, lust, and cruelty of their enemies? Wherefore, being void of offence, so ought they to be free from punishment. A gorgeous herald,¹ emblazoned with gold, had made to them of late certain offers, in appearance excellent and magnanimous; but this was undoubtedly done in order that, either by making peace,—a false and treacherous one at the best,—he might restrain their endeavours to recover their liberty; or else, being deprived of the means wherewith they were now furnished, and so shut out from all defence, that he might deliver them up to a cruel death. Let them, therefore, quoth he, that have offended, enjoy the impunity promised: we will not hinder them from so doing: while defended by these weapons, and our own innocence, we feel ourselves perfectly secure, and never will crave mercy of any man. The common-wealth is now almost utterly overthrown, and is daily declining through the insolence of the gentlemen: our intention is to restore it to its former dignity, out of the miserable ruin in which it hath so long been lying: and either we will accomplish this, by our present course of action; or else, as becomes brave and high-spirited men, we will fight boldly, risk our lives, and, if it be so, perish on the battle-field. Liberty may suffer much at the hands of oppressors, but never shall her sacred cause be betrayed by us.”²

Scarcely had he made an end of his speech, when suddenly a fearful outcry arose in the City, and the shout was heard, “To arms! to arms!”—a cry heard and dreaded by all: for while these things were taking place at Pockthorpe Gates, the rebels, excited by “desperate rage and impudent boldnesse,”³ broke in at the Hospital Meadows, destroying and wasting as they went, with fire and sword.

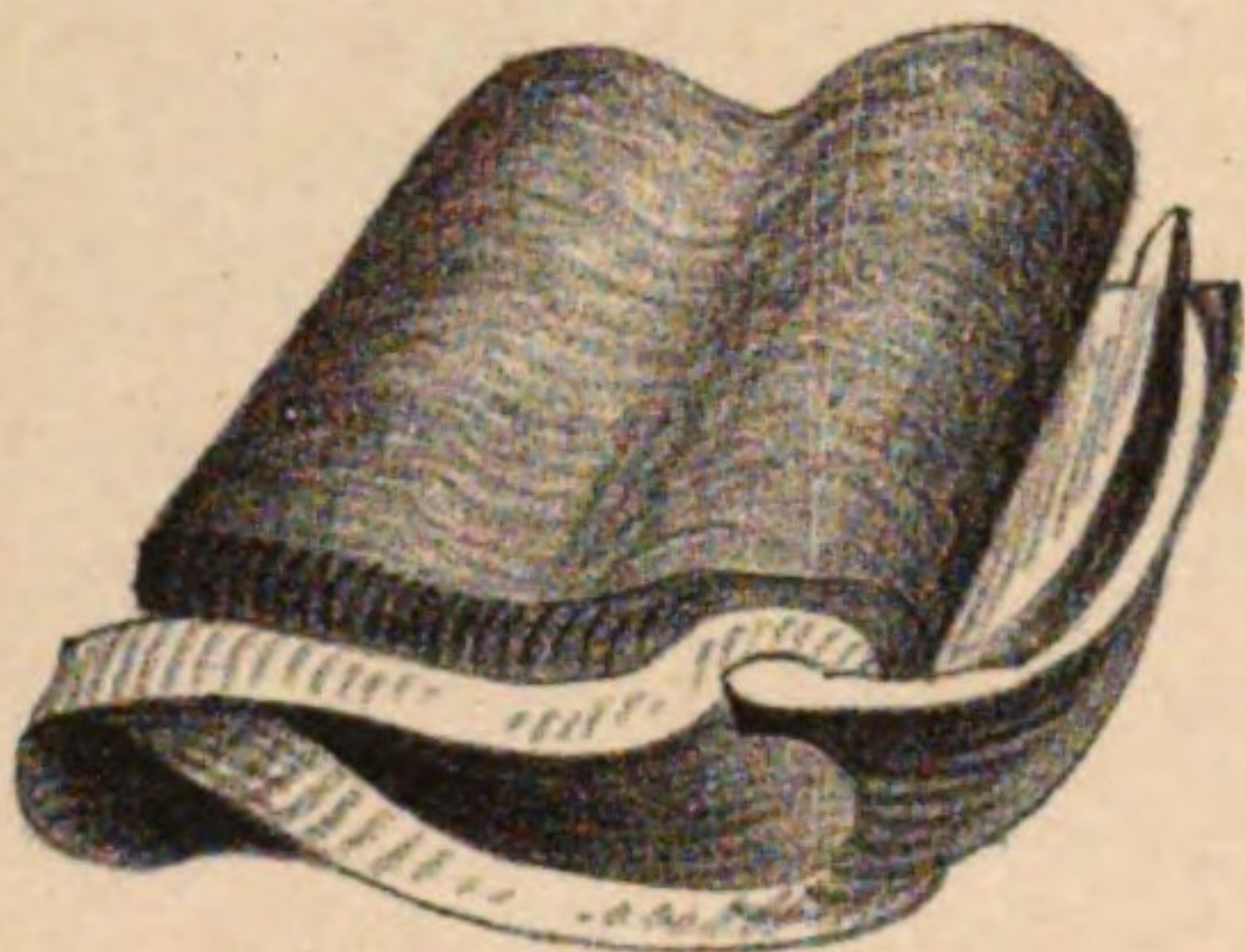
The herald hearing of this rode “over the whyte fryars bridge”

¹ See p. 73. The following from the Privy Council Register, Edw. VI. vol. i., informs us what remuneration the herald here referred to, received:

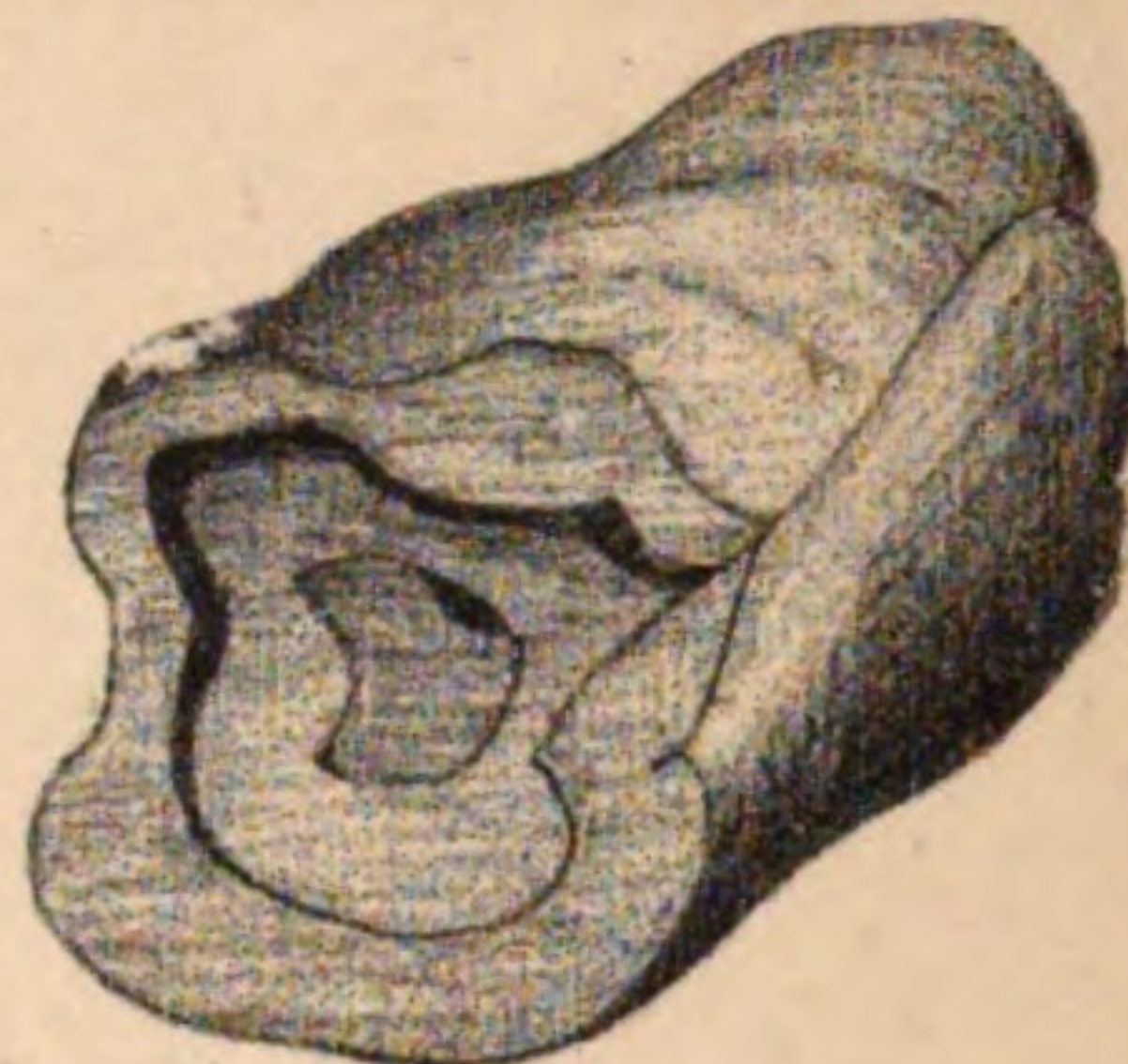
“Aug. xx. p. 567, had warrant for iiij^{li} vi^s viij^d to York officer at armes for his voyage to Norwych about the pacifying of the commons assembled there.”

² Sotherton says:—“The said Floateman answerid, hee defyde the Lord Lieuetenant and seid hee was a Traytour nor wulde of his pardon, nor had deservid pardon, but that they were the kings true subjects.”

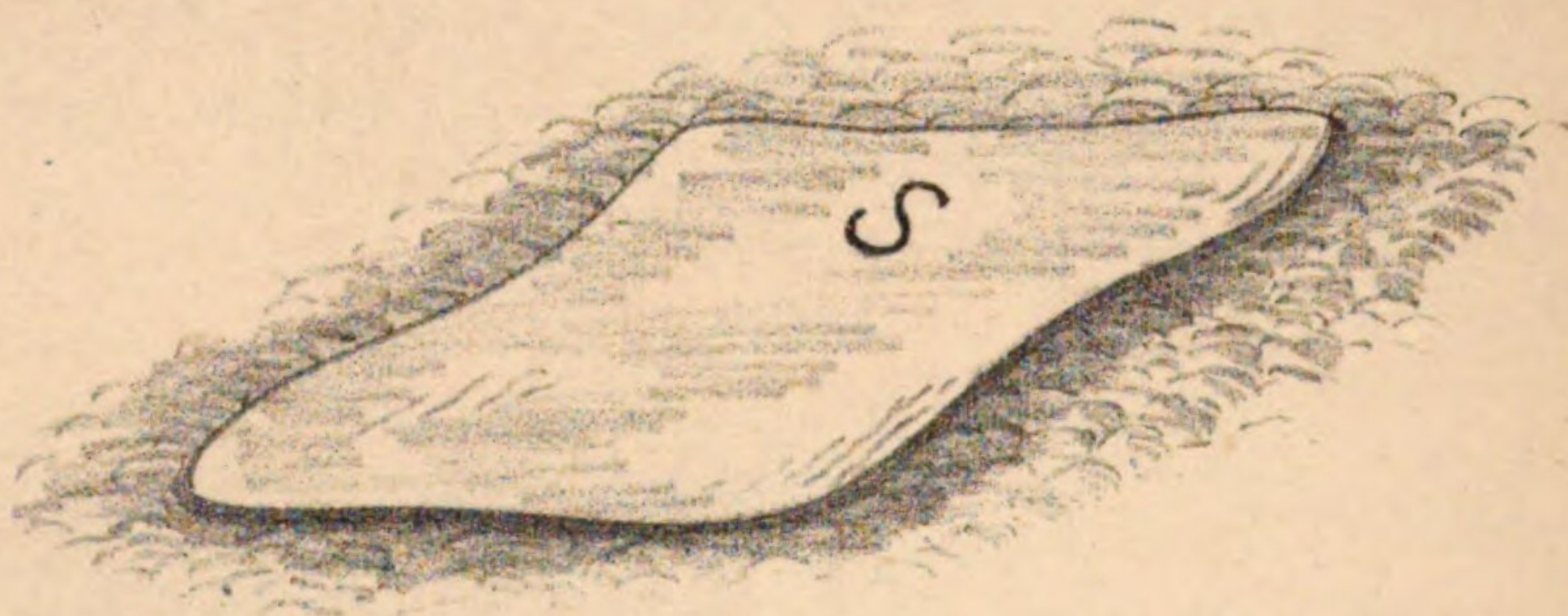
³ Wood's Translation.



a



a



b

By me Robt Kett Thome Codd
 By me Thomas Aldrich

c

a. Two "lede pyxlets" in the Norwich Museum.

see P. 82.

b. The Sheffield Stone on St. Martin's Palace Plain.

see P. 97.

c. Signatures of Kett, Aldrich, and Codd, appended
 to the List of Grievances.

see P. 56.

where the battle was fought. "and the said deputy rode another way into Tombelond to see what would come of ytt, and in the playne before the pallace gate of the Bishop's Palace the Lord's souldiours fought with the Rebelle." The number slain is variously reported: King Edward says, "the Mayor's souldiours kept the towne of Norwich kept it one day and one night and the next day in the morning with loss of 200 men departed out of the towne;" another account is, "there was slain of the party with Lord's souldiours and many of the Lord's souldiours slain." "In all that confusioe there was slain of the party with Lord's souldiours and many of the Lord's souldiours slain." "Neville states the number of slain to be 200, and forty of the enemy slain, and some of our souldiours." "There is this uncertainty as to the actual number that fell, there was one whose death forms a most painful episode in these troublous times: viz., that of Lord Sheffield, whose fate was lamented and pitied by all. It is recorded of him that, being more mindful of his birth and rank than of his safety, and desirous of performing the work he had in hand, he fell upon the thickest of the enemy, and fighting too boldly and carelessly, by chance was thrown headlong from his horse into a ditch: lying here at their mercy, he besought them to spare his life, promising them a great reward, and declaring his name. It was all, however, of no avail, for one named Fulke killed him with a stab." There was afterwards no little contention amongst themselves as to who really slew his lordship; and so sharp was it, that they came almost to blows; "but by the opinion of them all, Fulke"

¹ This gate is the entrance to the Bishop's Palace.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ King Edward the Sixth's Journal.—It is not easy to determine the number, as it seems to have been either 200 at first, and afterwards altered to 100; or the contrary.

⁴ Fox's Book of Martyrs, anno 1549.

⁵ The stone that marks the spot where Lord Sheffield fell, lay originally at the corner of the Cupid inn, but was removed some few years ago by the poor man living at the adjoining cottage, to where it now lies.—Edward VI. says, "among whom [i.e. the slain] there was (sic) the L. Sheffield taken prisoner (sic) was slain;" from which we may infer, that, at first, the report was Lord Sheffield was taken prisoner, but afterwards it became known that he was killed.

⁶ Fulke also killed "Robert Wolvaston, that was appointed to keepe the deere of Christ's Church, taking him for Sir Edmund Knevet."—Holme's.



a



a



b

By me [illegible] [illegible] + [illegible] [illegible]
 By me [illegible] [illegible]

- a. Two "lode pyrites" in the Norwich Museum. see P. 25
- b. The Sheffield Stone on St. Martin's Palace Plain. see P. 31
- c. Signatures of East, Aldrich, and Codd, appended
 to the List of Grievances. see P. 55

to where the battle was raging, "and the seid deputy rode another way into Tombelond to see what would cum of ytt, and in the playne before the pallace gate¹ of the Bishop the Lord Lieutenants souldiours fought with the Rebellis." ²The number slain is variously reported: thus King Edward says,³ the Marquis having won "the towne of Norwich kept it one day and one night and the next day in the morning with losse of 100 men departid out of the towne;" another account² is: there "was slayne above forty persons furthwith and many of the Lord Lieutenants men departid sore hurt:" another;⁴ "In all that conflicte there was but an hundreth on both sides slayne:" while Nevylle states the number to have been "one hundred and forty of the enemy slain, and some of our soldiers." But while there is this uncertainty as to the actual number that fell, there was one whose death forms a most painful episode in these troublous times: viz., that of Lord Sheffield, whose fate was lamented and pitied by all. It is recorded of him that, being more mindful of his birth and rank than of his safety, and desirous of performing the work he had in hand, he fell upon the thickest of the enemy, and fighting too boldly and carelessly, by chance was thrown headlong from his horse into a ditch: lying here at their mercy, he besought them to spare his life, promising them a great reward, and declaring his name. It was all, however, of no avail, for one named Fulke killed him with a club.⁵ There was afterwards no little contention amongst themselves as to who really slew his lordship; and so sharp was it, that they came almost to blows; "but by the opinion of them all, Fulke"⁶

¹ This gate is the entrance to the Bishop's Palace.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ King Edward the Sixth's Journal.—It is not easy to determine the number, as it seems to have been either 200 at first, and afterwards altered to 100; or the contrary.

⁴ Fox's Book of Martyrs, anno 1549.

⁵ The stone that marks the spot where Lord Sheffield fell, lay originally at the corner of the Cupid inn, but was removed some few years ago by the poor man living at the adjoining cottage, to where it now lies.—Edward VI. says, "among whom [*i.e.* the slain] ~~there was~~ (*sic*) the L. Sheffield ~~taken-prisoner~~ (*sic*) was slain:" from which we may infer, that, at first, the report was Lord Sheffield was taken prisoner, but afterwards it became known that he was killed.

⁶ Fulke also killed "Robert Wolvaston, that was appointed to keepe the doore of Christ's Church, taking him for Sir Edmund Knevet."—*Holinshed*.

carried away the praise, which openly protested (calling God to witnesse) that he gave him his deadly wound with his clubbe."¹ Fulke himself, not long after, met with his just reward for so cruel a deed, being "hanged in the tree of Reformacon."² The death of this distinguished man had the effect of making the insurgents bolder, and "more ready to warre;"¹ while, on the other side, the hearts of the soldiers, being sore discouraged, "beganne to languish, insomuch that when the rebels, puffed up with exceeding joy, making a mighty alarme on every side, as having alreadie gotten the victorie, rushed into the City (by what way they could get in), following upon our men, and as mortall enemies setting upon them, they being partly over-charged with the multitude, (for they were almost twenty thousand, and ours were only one thousand and five hundred,) and (partly strooken with the death of this noble yong gentleman) went out of the City, and (escaping by divers journeys through by-waies, hiding themselves all the night in caves, groves, and woods) returned at the length all of them to London."¹

One memorial of this engagement, the Sheffield Stone, has been already mentioned; another is met with in the Parish Register of St. Martin's at the Palace:

"Dñs Sheffield cum xxxv aliis sepulti fuere primo Augusti."

"The Lord Sheffield, with 35 others, were buried the first of August."³

The following items⁴ relate to Northampton's "beyng in the Cyte:"—

"Payd in the tyme of my lord Marqwes beyng in the Cyte for stavys, bolles, sholvys, plats, Skynns, Nayles, baskets, mattocks and half a barrell of bere at the cross all nyght ther and for pytch, rosen, tallowe, ropys, wood for fyers in the mket.....	}	ij „ — „ —
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¹ Wood's Translation.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ Sir John Cheeke, in his "Hurt of Sedition," says: "How was the Lord Sheffield handled among you? a noble Gentleman, and of good services, both fit for counsel in peace and conduct in war. * * Ye slew him cruelly, who offered himself manfully; nor would not spare for ransom [him] who was worthy for nobleness to have had honour; and hewed him bare, whom ye could not hurt armed; and by slavery slew nobility, in deed miserably, in fashion cruelly."

⁴ City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 304.

- " Itm for caryeng a dede horse out of the mket w^t many
other Chargis in the day and nyght whose particlers
it was not possybyll to wryght nor to remedy as the
tyme requeryd..... } — „ xxxiiij „ —
- " Item for a newe rope for the parcolas of Berstrete Gats,¹
to Waller ffrere..... } — „ iiij „ vj
- " Itm to Thoms pye for fetchyng therof and setting on... — „ — „ iiij "

And the following to his journey thither : ²—

"xx. *Aug. p. 566.* Mr. Williams had warrant for vi^{li} xviijs to John Oates, for
cariadge of provisions and ordinance in the voyage of the Lord
Marquis of Northampton against the Rebelles of Norwych by a bill of
particulars."

The first act of the Rebellion being thus concluded, it may not
be amiss to examine briefly the charge brought against the City, of
being "confederat with them." ³ Sir John Cheeke, in his "Hurt
of Sedition: how grievous it is to a Commonwealth; or, The true
Subject to the Rebel," anno 1549, having mentioned the double
hindrance that rebellion was to the King, "letting him from doing
any notable fact abroad, and also suffering not him quietly to enjoy
his own at home," proceeds thus:—

"But herein hath notably appeared what Cities hath faithfully
served, and suffered extreme danger, not only of goods, but also of
famine and death, rather than to suffer the King's enemies to enter:
aud what white-livered cities hath not only not withstood them, but
also with shame favored them, and with mischief aided them. And
I would I might herein praise all Cities alike, which I would do if
all were like worthy." He then commends Exeter highly for having
held out against the rebels under very discouraging circumstances;

¹ This had probably been destroyed during the night attack made by the rebels,
when much damage was done to the city gates.—*City Chamb. Accompts*, p. 304b.

"Item to other ij men y^t gathered together and carryed
to the guyld halle certen yronworke y^t was fownde
at the comon stathe and at dyvers gats of the Cyte
y^t war brent..... } — „ — „ viij "

² Register of Privy Council, Edw VI. vol. i. p. 566.

³ Edward VI.th's Journal.

“Whose example,” he continues, “if Norwich had followed, and had not rather given place to traitor Kett, than to keep their duty; and had not sought more safeguard than honesty, and private hope more than common quietness; they had ended their rebellion sooner and escaped themselves better. * * * * And although this cannot be spoken against certain honest men that were amongst them, whose praise was the greater because they were so few, yet the great number was such, that they not only obeyed the Rebel for fear, but also followed him for love, and did so traitorously order the King’s band under my Lord Marquis, that they suffered more damage out of their houses by the towns men, than they did abroad by the Rebels.¹ Whose fault as the King’s Majesty may pardon, so I would either the example might be forgotten, that no City might hereafter follow the like; or the deed be so abhorred, that other hereafter would avoid the like shame, and learn to be noble like Exeter, whose truth doth not only deserve long praises, but also great rewards.”

Blomefield, commenting on the above, says,—and his statements are confirmed by Nevylle² so far as he mentions the behaviour and proceedings of the principal citizens: In this great calamity (notwithstanding the upbraiding of Sir John Cheke, who knew little of the matter only by hearsay), the Mayor, Aldermen, and principal citizens, with the City Clergy, behaved with the utmost allegiance to the King, and the greatest prudence for the safeguard of their City and Country; the former by consulting daily what was best to be done, and the latter by preaching by day in the Camp and churches, and by watching in the night with armour on their backs; so that nothing that belonged to them, as worthy ministers and faithful subjects, was at any time omitted: so far were they from deserving that unjust

¹ This rests only on Sir John’s authority, neither Nevylle nor Sotherton making any mention of it.

² Thus the Mayor, as soon as they came towards Norwich, tried by money and fair promises to turn them from their enterprise; he refused to allow them to pass through the City; and, if permission had been granted, he and his brethren were ready to act against the rebels.

censure of Sir John's, that it was not the principal part of the City that were for the Rebels, but only the refuse of it, there being not one (that I have met with), of any figure or character,¹ that sided with them, though, indeed, there was a great number of the populace that favoured them: and the state of the City was such that it was not in the power of the magistrates to keep the City against them, as Excester did, with whose conduct Sir John upbraids this place; but it is evident, that had they been able to have done it before, they would have done it; for, upon succours coming, they immediately put themselves in a posture of offence, till which time it was impossible to do more than they did, which was to stand upon the point of defence. And the aforesaid Author exclaims against Norwich in relation to the affair of the Marquis's miscarriage, and justly extols Excester² for her prowess; yet, if we come to examine things, as we shall find the one deservedly praised, so shall we see the other as undeservedly and unjustly upbraided. Excester is a City (if I may credit the accounts we have of it) placed on a hill having a castle, the site of which is eminent, and above both the City and country adjoining, for they do all lie as under the lee thereof: the City is strongly ditched and walled round, and is not easily to be gotten by force, and was well provided with cannon, and other weapons of defence: on the contrary, Norwich is like a great volume with a bad cover, having at best but parchment walls about it. Nor can it with much cost or time be fortified, because under the frowning brow of Mousehold hill, hanging over it, the river Yare,³ so wanton that it knoweth not its own mind, which way to go, such the involved

¹ Sir Nicholas Lestrangle was, however, suspected of doing so.—See App. (S).

² Having spoken of Exeter as being "much and worthily to be commended" for its resistance, he says that it "being in the midst of Rebels, unvictualled, unfurnished, unprepared, for so long a siege, did nobly hold out against the continual and dangerous assaults of the Rebels; for they sustained the violence of the Rebels, not only when they had plenty enough of victual, but also 11 or 12 days after the extreme famine came on them; and living without bread were in courage so manful, and in duty so constant, that they thought it yet much better to die the extreme death of hunger, showing truth to their king and love to their country, than to give any place to the Rebel and favour him with aid, although they might have done it with less danger." ³ Not Yare, but Wensum.

flexures thereof within one mile of this city, runneth partly by, partly through it, but contributeth very little to the strengthening thereof. Now, what could a weak city do in opposition to so great a multitude possessed of such a hill as gave them not only a large prospect, but a full command over it; and being neither strong by art nor nature, and quite destitute¹ of any number of cannons, and other weapons of defence, could be in no capacity to make any resistance? and therefore it had been as imprudent in the magistrates here to have pretended to act as they did at Excester, as it was prudent in them; and as to the miscarriage of the Marquis of Northampton, it was so far from being occasioned by any misconduct of the citizens, that it was only their misfortune that so unfit a man was sent to their rescue, he being more acquainted with the witty than the warlike part of Pallas (as being complete in music, poetry, and courtship), and so few succours, and many of them Italians, that it gave the rebels further pretence to fill the country with complaints that these were only a handful of an armsful to follow, driving on the design to subject England to the insolence of foreigners: for though neither wisdom nor valour was wanting in the King's soldiers, yet success failed them, being too few to defend Norwich and oppose the rebels. What was 1,500 soldiers (for there were no more of the English troops) to 20,000 rebels? while, on the other hand, Sir John Russell, Lord Privy Seal, a person of a stout spirit, proper for such a service, and a man of great interest in that country, as well as estate, was sent down to Excester, with a convenient power of men of war, both on foot and horseback, and two bands of strangers; a power sufficient to engage those rebels, who were only about 10,000."

The truth probably lies between these two extremes, the citizens neither deserving the reproaches cast upon them by Cheeke, nor the praise they receive at the hands of Blomefield: if the rebellion had been crushed speedily, they would have sided with the "Lord Lieutenant;" whereas, Kett being, at least for the present, triumphant, we cannot be surprised if, in the confusion that ensued, numbers were

¹ Not "quite," but "nearly destitute."

disposed to think favourably of his cause, and to avail themselves, by joining him, of the opportunity now offered them for plundering, and committing other excesses.

The following letter,¹ from the Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, shows plainly in how serious a light this commotion was now regarded.

“After our most hartie commendacons unto your good Lordship; you shall understand that the rebells about Norwiche, in Norff. remayninge yet still in their obstinate rebellion, have not only now of late refused the King's Ma^{te}'s pdon, but also made themselves a partie against our very good Lord the Marques of Northampton, his Highnes' Lieutennt there, and in a skirmishe have slayn the Lord Sheffield, S^r John Cleere, and another gentilman, named Cornwalés: And albeit ther wer a farre gretter number of the said rebells slayn at the same tyme, yet, considering that by this begynning they seeme to have conceyved a courage, lyke as we have given order here for ther chastisement in such sort as we trust they shalbe a terrible example to all others of like sorte, yet, to be in a suretie in all events, we have thought good to pray your Lordship to take undelayde order, w^t as many hable horsemen and fotemen wⁱⁿ the King's Ma^{te}'s comission, w^{ch} you shall receyve herew^t, as may be conveniently furnished; so as they, w^t such Captaynes as you shall thinke mete, may be in full redynes, upon one houre's warning, to marche under your Lordship, either towards the King's Ma^{te} or otherways, as by our next lettres shalbe signified unto you. And so we byd your Lordship most hartely farewell. From Westm. the thirde of August 1549.

“Y^r Lordship's assured loving frends,

“E. SOMERSET

“W. SENT JOHN

THOMS SOUTHAMPTON

“WILLM PETRES

JOHN BAKERE.”

“To o^r very good Lorde th' Erle of Shrewsberye.

Hast post, hast for thy lief, lief. Poste of
Dancaster, see this l^{re} delyvered.”

Howard Papers.

¹ Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 133.

The City, being now wholly at the mercy of Kett, the wild passions of whose followers were fearfully excited by their success, great numbers of the inhabitants fled out of the City. Men's hearts were, for the most part, smitten with fear to such an extent, that some having their minds alienated from all regard for their goods, or for those dear to them, left their wives and children, and all their possessions, in the power of the enemy; fleeing "in theyr doublets and hosen, and some in theyr lightest garments beste" adapted for enabling them "to escape, and make haste away:"¹ while others, whatsoever gold, silver, plate, or household stuff they possessed, hid it in wells, ponds, and other secret places, "that it might not bee helping to the Rebellis thereafter."¹ Terrible indeed was that day: women and children crying; the rebels shouting at their victory; houses in flames and falling with a loud crash: a sad day was that for the good old City! After the departure of the Marquis, fire being thrown upon the tops of the houses, most of which were thatched, it spread from house to house, and from one street to another, with fearful rapidity, till in a short time it had consumed very many houses and other buildings; providentially, much rain fell just at this time, by which the fire was speedily checked and hindered from spreading so much as otherwise it might have done.

To add to the horrors of the scene, numbers from the Camp entered the City, forced their way into the houses of the richer inhabitants, plundered them, and then set them on fire, indulging recklessly in every kind of excess. Striking, indeed, is the picture Nevylle draws of this long-remembered day: "lamentable and miserable was the state of the City at this time: when nothing was seene or heard, but lamentation and weeping of those that were vexed and troubled: and contrary, the rejoycing of the enemy, the weeping of women, the crying of men, and the noise of them that ran about the streets: then the clashing of weapons, the flames of the burning, the ruines and fall of houses, and many other fearefull things (which that I may not make lesse in speaking), I willingly let passe, which so

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

filled with horreur, not onely the mindes, and eyes of the beholders; but strooke with incredible sorrow the hearts and eares of all that heard it."¹

The City being thus in their power, those that still remained in it, shutting their gates and doors, hid themselves in the most secret parts of their houses. The Mayor's Deputy, "dowghtful what to doe, entring his howse and finding his servants departid with the armie," the last to go being one of the Marquis's attendants, to whom was "delyvered a payre of silver flaggons;"—"seeing the Citty empty of all assistance, and every man's dore shutt, comfortlesse," and feeling himself reserved to see his country's downfall, without any to advise or help him in this hour of sore trial, with a heavy heart went up alone to "his highest Gallery:" looking out, he saw that they "had set y^e whole howses in the streete calld Holmstreete² a fyer on both sydes, with a grett part of the Hospitall howses of office that longid³ to the poore in that howse, and allsoe the Cyttie gates called Bishops gates with the leade thereof molten, and the gates and howses of them of pockthorpe, Magdeline, St. Austens, Coslney, and Berstret gates all on fier that daie;" and thinking it probable, after having brought destruction upon the houses, they would offer violence and death unto men, he shut his doors, and kept himself within his house. On looking towards St. Augustine's, he saw "in the feilds without, comming with a drum before them in att the gates a greate numbere of Rebellis, who came to his house and rappid, and cryde, Set fire in the gates;" which some beginning to do, "hee being greatly afraide, (for all his servants were fled from him,) himselfe alone unshut the gates;⁴ whom presently they tooke, and plucked off his gowne, (which hee used at that time,) calling him rebel, and threatning him a most shameful death," unless he would tell them in what place the Marquis of Northampton was hidden; on his answering, "They were departed," all were very indignant, and rushing with much violence into his house, they searched "every hole and place, and found none

¹ Wood's Translation. ² Now Bishop-Bridge Street. ³ *I. e.* "belonged."

⁴ Sotherton says: "The said depute required an old man that kept the gate to open the Klyckett," or small door in the gate.

to qualify¹ their fiercenes:" after they had done this, "hee was faine to give them the whole mony in his purse to departe."² Afterwards "came another company that brake open his shop and in burthens carryed away" whatever was therein, "tyll one Doo of theyr company, a servant of Mr. Smith of Huntingfelde had sharply told them for robbing and spoyling they all should be hangid, whereuppon many of theyr fardles³ were cast agen into the shopp: whome to ridde was fayne to bee cutt both shirt cloaths and doublet cloths of fustian, and given them to save the rest: and after theyr departure came another company to have spoyled, had not the seid Doo and three or foure mor kept them off, saying hee was spoyled before."⁴

In like manner, many of the citizens, into whose houses the rebels had entered, under pretence of seeking the Marquis of Northampton, were utterly robbed of all that they had: this was more especially the fate of those who had left the City, the insurgents proclaiming them rebels, and open enemies to the King's Majesty; and that therefore their goods were confiscated. The servants of those who had fled, in order "to save y^e rest of theyr masters goods devisid," as did also some of the citizens, "to bake bred, and to rost, and to bake pasties and to give it unto them to save the rest;"⁵ whereby it came to pass that the miserable and hungry people being pacified, they were somewhat stayed from their plundering. Nevertheless, very many sustained great loss and injury; and were so overcharged with the great expenses to which they were put, that ever after while they lived (and many live at this day),⁶ they, in their household affairs, fared the worse. In the midst of all this confusion, thought and care for the future, as it seemed, came suddenly into the minds of the rebels:

¹ *I. e.* "to justify:" if they had found any one concealed, it would have been a sufficient justification for the violence they were using.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ *I. e.* "bundles." An interesting use of the word is met with in Acts xxi. 15, where the Genevan version has, "We trussed up our fardles."

⁴ Nevylle gives the above very briefly, and makes it appear that Augustine Steward received back all he had lost.

⁵ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁶ 1575.

wherefore, desisting from violence, they began to think of their own safety; and commanded the Mayor's Deputy, and the chief of the City, that watch and ward should be kept by the citizens every day at all the gates: should they refuse to do this, they threatened them with death and grievous torments.

"And now began the Rebellis againe to posses the Cittye, and to have Aldermen and Constables at their commandments,¹ and in tyme of raine in the night season they incamped," horrible to relate,² "in the Cathedrall Church, callyd Christs Church in Norwich, and had the rewle³ to doe what them listed, and kept the gates themselves of the Cittye wyth the prisons and other places, soe that they rewled⁴ the wholle, and would command men by howses to watch theyr campe and gates in the night, which both many men and theyr servants then att home were feine to doe untill after God gave the victory."⁵

The rebels having Norwich in their power, and anxious to win over Yarmouth, issued the following commission: ⁶

"Nicholas Byron our commissioner in this behalf. Be it known to all men, that we Robert Kett and Thomas Aldrich, commissioners of the King's camp at Moushold, have appointed out of our camp aforesaid, one hundred of men to return from us to Yarmouth, for the maintenance of the King's town there against our enemies.

"Also we do certify you, that we, for the more sufficient and necessary victualling of our said hundred men, do appoint Richard Smith, Thomas Clarke,⁷ and John Rotherham, and also to take up horses for the further ayding of our said men.

"Dated at the King's Great Camp at Moushold the 5th day of August in the 3rd year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth.

By me ROBERT KETT,
By me THOMAS ALDRICH."

¹ *I. e.* "command."

² Nevylle.

³ *I. e.* "rule."

⁴ *I. e.* "ruled."

⁵ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁶ Swinden's History of Great Yarmouth.

⁷ "Thomas Clerke" was one of the Governours, and represented the Hundred of Walsham.—See Appendix (O).

To which commission and commissioners the town absolutely refused compliance; whereby they were more incensed, and devised other stratagems to surprise it; which the town understanding, sent up George Millicent, Gilbert Grice, and John Echard, three of their principal burgesses, to inform His Majesty of the rebels' proceedings, who admitted them to an audience, and afterward directed his letter to the town, the tenour of which followeth:—

“EDWARD R.

“Well beloved, we greet you well, and lett you wit that it hath been signified unto us by our dearest uncle the duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects, that ye, the officers of our town of Yarmouth, have, as to the duty of good subjects pertaineth, imployed yourselves to put in order of defence our town and port there, against such our unkind and unnatural subjects of those parts, as, not regarding their obedience, have shewed themselves in arms against us, not fearing God, who chiefly of all precepts admonisheth of obedience of subjects to their sovereign lord, have, as much as in them lyeth, given liberty to foreign enemies to attempt their malice by invasion of this our realm of England and other dominions, which hitherto have, by the good subjects of the same, been most valiantly defended, and further by their unkindness forced us, contrary to our nature, to divide ourself, being head, from our own members, yea to consent that one part should destroy the other, to preserve thereby the state of a king with the kingdoms and dominions left unto us by God, and most just title. These members joined and united together, by the direction and order of the head, might have been a full and perfect strength and puissance to have resisted or invaded any outward enemy whatever, which by the oneration of division at home hath not only taken from us all opportunity to follow our intire and good proceedings in Scotland, besides the consumption here of our treasure and victual, whereof the multitude have and shall find lack, but also maketh us and our said realms and dominions an open prey and ravin to whomsoever list to take advantage of them. Wherefore

like as provoked hereunto by these with whom no admonition nor clemency can prevail to acknowledge their duties, we have resolved to address down a main force very shortly in the order of our said uncle,¹ and by him to weed and try out our good subjects from the evil, to minister ayde and comfort to the one, and contrariwise to extend the rigour and extremity of our sword to the other. So for the particular favour and tender zeal wee bear unto you, our good subjects of that town, having been pleased to grant the fruition of our royal presence to such as come hither from you: we have thought good by advice of our said uncle, to make you partakers of our said favour by these our special letters, by which rendering unto you condign thanks for the service already ministred unto us, We will and exhort you so to continue by the gard of our town, that at the coming of our said uncle, both he may be able to report unto us the further continuance of your service, and besides find cause further to relieve and help you, as occasion upon his arrival shall require. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the sixth of August, in the third year of our reign.

E. SOMERSET."

"To our well beloved the deputies to the bailiffs
of our town of Yarmouth, and to the rest of
our good and obedient subjects there."

The reason of the above direction was, because the King and his ministers had intelligence that the bailiffs of Yarmouth were detained in the insurgents' camp: they had been so, but had escaped before this letter was received.

The chiefs pretended to be executors of justice between man and man, and to be, as it were, lords spiritual and temporal; and directed their letters mandatory accordingly, as is manifest by the following:—

"Nicholas Fen² and Thomas Gardiner we commend us unto you, desiring you in God's behalf, and for the discharge of your

¹ It was at first intended, after Northampton's defeat, that Somerset should go against the rebels.

² One of the bailiffs.

own conscience to go through with this bringer, for all such legacies, as be due to him by the death of his uncle, and if you shall refuse to do this, there will be found means to bring you hither before us by complaint to your great shame.—From Moushold this viij of August.

By us ROBERT KETT
and THOMAS ALDRICH."

Another Commission.

"We do require you, and in the King's name do straightly charge you John, of Great Yarmouth, that you do repair home, and bring with you, with as much speed as may be, a last of beer, to maintain your poor neighbours withal, and if any man disturb or lett you, in this business, he shall suffer imprisonment of body.—From Mousehold this tenth of August.

By me ROBERT KETT,
By me THOMAS ALDRICH."

But as none of these orders were complied with, they determined to storm the town, and compel the inhabitants to surrender at discretion. To this end a large body of the insurgents, having made themselves masters of Lothingland, procured six pieces of ordnance from Lowestoft, and brought them to a close at the north end of Gorleston,¹ intending to batter the town from thence; which being perceived, a party of townsmen were privately detached to set fire to a large stack of hay on the west side the haven, which being duly executed, raised a prodigious smoke, and the wind, being northerly, drove the said smoke directly upon the face of the enemy, which so blinded them, that they did not perceive the Yarmouth men coming upon them; whereby many of the rebels, being unprepared, were slain, and thirty taken prisoners, who, with the six pieces of ordnance, were immediately brought to Yarmouth, and confined in close hold.

The rest, being exceedingly irritated by the above disaster, dared to approach the very walls of the town, and to destroy as much

¹ Now called Southtown.

as possible all the materials provided for the new haven,¹ then in making across the Denes near the south gate, to which they did irreparable damages; but being driven thence by the ordnance² from the walls and mounts, they fled, and never appeared about the town afterwards.

*The Commissioners' Orders for defending the Town against the Rebels,
17th August, 1549.*³

- "First, that the Dragon shall ride between the town and the new haven of the town, and three doggers with her.
- "Item, That the Rose Lion, and the rest of the doggers, shall ride in the north end of the town.
- "Item, The rest of the fleet shall ride in the midst of them against the town.
- "Item, The small pinnace to go up to Waybridge,⁴ being victualled for four days, having twenty-six men in her.
- "Item, At Bokenham Ferry the broderers,⁵ with certain men, and one small boat with her.
- "Item, To scour the country thirty horsemen with pikes, twelve half hacks,⁶ eighteen bowmen.
- "Item, To be appointed in the eight wards so many captains, and petty captains under them of their own choice, over and besides the constables, and one more that shall be appointed by the bailiffs, that is practised for the setting in order of the same.

¹ In an address to Queen Elizabeth's "most honorable privy counsaile," the authorities claimed, on the one hand, credit for the boldness with which they had resisted the above attacks, and, on the other, aid to remedy the injuries the town had consequently received: "The said Kett with his rebelles made attempt to take that towne for their hold, which the inhabitants of that towne would in no wise permit, or consent unto, but kept the towne for the kinges majesty according to their allegiance, albeit Kett and the rebelles besieged it, summoning and threatening it with fier and sworde; nevertheless the said townsmen not onely kepte them out but drave them awaye, and toke certain greate ordinance from them, which they had gotten from Leistofte and other places; and also they did slea, kille and wounde many of the said rebelles: the which thinge the said rebelles did revenge upon the said towne of Yarmouth by spoyling the workes of their haven, and stoppage yt up in the night tymes."—*Swinden's History of Great Yarmouth*, p. 446.

² A demi-cannon shot from the mount at the market-gate did great execution.—*Swinden*.

³ *Swinden*.

⁴ Acle Bridge, on the Bure, nearly a mile east of Acle, is called in all legal documents Weybridge.—*White's Norfolk Directory: Acle*.

⁵ Probably "the borderers."

⁶ *I. e.* "short hand-guns."

"Item, That every constable shall learn to know in his ward what townsmen are now in the camp, and thereof to certify the bailiffs of the same town; and further to certify the names of such as they shall perceive to speak any rebellious words, as well men as women, and also to give knowledge how many of the rebels wives be in the camp, and how many be at home."

Of all which proceedings the town, from time to time, sent up messengers to certify the Lords of the Council, from whom they received further instructions to direct them in this important business; there being at that time joined to them in special commission Thomas Cleere, Knt., and Thomas Wodehouse, Knt.; as by another letter sent them by the then Lord Treasurer of England doth appear:—

"After right hearty commendation. I have perceived by this bearer, and also by your letter written to my lords, that you have entered the town of Yarmouth, and be in good trust to continue the same for the king, and how that you have given order to the Iceland fleet for their fish, which things be very well done, and so is your search made for the stay of the passage next to the rebels; the doing whereof requireth to be wisely handled for danger of yourselves, or some of yours, and therefore have good espials before you for your good proceedings, and go strongly to the same when you go, and so do all that you may for the defence of the town, and the said ferry; and as you confer by secret means with my lord Wentworth and Mr. Vice Chamberlain for the stay of Suffolk side, so I think good that you give knowledge to the lord of Warwick of your proceedings, and desire his advice in the same, and do what he shall further advise you. And if at any time you shall perceive you shall be needy of more help, then take more strength to you whatsoever you do, and doubt not but your well doing shall at all times comfort the lords to keep you from great loss, and from any new charge to be imposed upon you, and to give you thanks for your effectual travel.—
Written the 19th August, 1549. Your friend

W. SEINT JOHN."

"To my loving friends, Sir Thomas Cleere, knt. and
Sir Thomas Wodehouse, knt. be this delivered
at Yarmouth in hast
hast hast hast post hast hast."

The following "depositions"¹ show that an attempt was made in Essex to excite a favourable feeling towards the Norfolk insurgents; but with what success does not appear.

"*Colchester.* Depositions there taken the Seventh day of August, in the Third yere of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Kyng Edward the Sixth by the grace of God Kyng of yngland, fraunce, and yreland Defendor of the feyth and in erth under God of this Chirche of yngland and yreland the Soveraigne hede, before Benjamyn Clere and Robert Flyngant bayllies of our said Soveraigne Lord the Kyng of his graces auntyent borough and towne of Colchester in Essex.

"Wyllyam Browne, of Colchester, draper and teyllor Sr Roger Peerson of Colchester priest Sr John Robynson priest parson of Tadeston in Suff. Richard Kent of Sturton in Suff. were sworne and examyned the day aforeseid before the said bayllies at Colchester deposen and seyen that all they were at Supper the last nyght in the howse of the aforeseid deposed Wyllyam Browne at whiche tyme there was wyth them at the seid supper one Sr. John Chaundeler parson of Alswiththorp² in Norfolk nere to lynne. whiche seid Sr John Chaundeler emonge sondry and dyvers woords then and there seyde, I wolde the towne of Lynne and all the Gentylnen there were on fyre.

"Itm more he seyde, that there was vi posts sent from their campe unto the Kyngs Councell and never one of them could come to the seid Kyngs Councell.

"Itm he more seyde, that there is in number of men at Norwyche Campe vi score thousand.

"Itm he more seyde, that the Gentylnens Servants of Lynne went abroad and killed poore men in their harvest werk and also kylded women there wyth chyld.

"Itm he more seyde, that he mett at Bury to the nombre as he thought vij thousand of the townes of Bury Hadley Langham Brendon³ Ely w^t other townes thereabout. and more seyde where as there is one man I wold there were ten men.

"Itm more he seyde, one Capteyne Buntynge⁴ like a false knave layd his hatt downe by a well side and we there thought he had bene drowned. and at the same tyme he fled into Lynne and at his cummyng they shott a pele of Gonnes and there he is styll remayning."

¹ Lansdowne MSS. ii. 75.

² Allthorpe or Alethorpe seems to be the place meant; but (?) ³ Brandon Ferry.

⁴ "Robert Bunting of Snettisham," as he is called in a letter from "Thomas Hussey to Wm. Cecill."—*State Paper Office—Domestic, Edward VI.* vol. viii. 45a.

In the meanwhile, the Mayor's Deputy and others "procured Dr. Barret a preacher, and other preachers to goe up among the rebells, and preach Gods word. Which notwithstanding helpid not att all for soe impudent were they and out of ordre,"¹ that no one could restrain them. At this trying time the women, moved by the slaughter they had witnessed, tried to induce them to have compassion upon them, their husbands, and their children; to remember that they were men themselves; and that, whatever ills they had suffered, they had now obtained ample satisfaction; and to lay aside those violent and angry feelings which must, in the end, bring ruin upon them all. Neither threatenings, however, nor the counsel of the wise, "nor flattering prayers, nor any thing else could restraine them from so great rage of villanie:"² "there was noe hope that any Cytezin looked for to enjoy his owne: such as had trusty servants causid theyr goods, bonds, stuffe and mony to bee made up in wallis and sellers,³ for that they looked with fire to bee consumed: the masters themselves in many placis was feine to bee" concealed "in false rovis⁴ and other secret placis, lest if they had been taken prisoners, as other Gentlemen were, they shuld bee dryven to Rebell."¹

As it was now very evident that this Rebellion could only be suppressed by force, "the King sent into Lincolnshire and other placis of the Realme, and mustredd⁵ and toke up a greate numbre of souldiours and allsoe sent for divers Launce Knights and other strangers to make a power to suppres the seide Rebells."¹ The command was at first given to the Duke of Somerset, as appears from the following proclamation:

" EDWARD ⁶ By the King.

"Trustie and right well beloved we grete you welle. And whereas oon Ket⁷ a Tanner supported by grete nomebre of vile and idell personnes hath taken upon hym our royall power and Dignitie, and calleth hymselfe master and kyng of Norff. and Suff. withe dero-

¹ Nicholas Sotherton. ² Wood's Translation. ³ *I. e.* "walls and cellars."

⁴ *I. e.* "roofs."

⁵ *I. e.* "mustered."

⁶ The king's name is not written, but printed from a stamp. ⁷ *I. e.* "one."

gacion of our Imperiall crowne and majestie and not contente to perswade our Subjects, whom we were well contented to receyve to our mercie, to refuse our most gracious pardon, but causeth also a grete nombre of our honest and good subjects to followe and ayde hym, and so continueth the rebellyon in most vile sorte, kyllyng, spoylyng, and kepyng in fetters and chaynes gentelmen, servingmen, yeomen, and fermers, and other honest men, who have regarde of their faythe and Dutie unto us, robbyng Ladies and Widdowes houses, sekynge nothinge but spoyle and subversion of us and the good estate of the realme: We, have appointed our most entierly beloved Uncle the Duke of Somerset, governor of our person and protector of our realmes, dominions, and subjects, with an army Royall to go agaynst them, and with Goddes helpe to subdue them to the terror of all others, whome lyke as we have appoynted to march forwardes with all spede possible, So havynge reposed a speciall trust and confidence in your good towerdenes and redynes to serve us, we have appoynted you to give your attendance upon our said Uncle, and therefore do wille and requier you immediatly, upon the sight hereof, with all spede to put your selfe in arredynes¹ with an hundreth hable men, or so many mor as ye are able to make and maye trust unto of your servauntes, tenants, and fryndes, well furnyshed with armour and weapon, whereof so many to be dymylances or lyght horsemen, as ye can furnyshe, with able and good horses and other convenient furnytüre, to be at our Towne of Waldon in our Countie of Essex the xvijth. daye of this present moneth at the furthest; at which tyme and place ordre shalbe gyven for the bryngyng of them thether to your contentation, requiring you not to fayle as ye tender our pleasure, and will answer for the contrary at your perilles. Given under our signet at our pallayce of Westminster the xth. of August the thirde yere of our Raign.

P. SOMERSET."²

For some reason, Somerset did not accept the command thus intrusted to him, and it was given to John Dudley,³ Earl of Warwick,

¹ *I. e.* "a readiness."

² Cotton MSS. Vespasian, F. iii. 37. Original.

³ John Dudley was the son of Edmund Dudley, so well known, with his colleague, Richard Empson, as the rapacious minister of Henry VII. The first we hear of him,

"a man of great nobility and marvellous courage;"¹ whereupon the following proclamation was issued:

"A Proclamacion for Gentlemen to repaire to their Severall dwellings of Essex, Suff. and Norff."

"The Kings Majestie by the advice of his most entirelie beloved uncle the Lord Protector and the rest of his highnes Counsell straightlie chargeth and commandeth all Gentlemen of what estate, degree or condicion soever they be, who hath their habitacion and dwelling in Essex, to depart from the Court of the Cittie of London, and other places neare unto them, into their severall habitacions in the said County of Essex, with all convenient speed, there to remaine till they shall knowe further of the king's majesty's pleasure. Likewise such Gentlemen as hath their habitacions and dwelling in Suffolke, to depart into their said habitacions in Suffolke, and there to remaine untill such time as they shall have commaundement from the King's Majestie, or from the Earle of Warwicke. And further that all Gentlemen, Inhabitants of Norff., doe repaire to the said Earle of Warwicke, so that they be with the said Earle, to attend uppon him in the Kings majesties Armye, in his Conduct and leading for his highnes better

after his father's attainder had been repealed (3 Henry VIII.) is his receiving the honour of knighthood from Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, general of the army sent into France against the Duke of Bourbon. He was created Viscount L'Isle, 12th March, 1542, and the same year was appointed Lord Admiral of England for life. In this capacity he displayed great gallantry, and did good service against France and Scotland. On the accession of Edward VI. "The L. Lisle was mad [*i. e.* made] erle of Warwic and the Lord Great Chamberlainship was gieven to him."—(Edward the Sixth's Journal.) Through his intrigues the quarrel arose between the Protector Somerset and his brother, Lord Thomas Seymour, which terminated in the public execution of the latter. On the 11th October, 1551, he was created Duke of Northumberland. Having succeeded in bringing about the condemnation and death of Somerset, his next step was to induce the King to sign and seal a patent conferring the succession upon Lady Jane Grey (eldest daughter of Henry, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, and sister of King Henry VIII.), the wife of his son, Lord Guildford Dudley. His subsequent efforts, after the decease of Edward VI., to establish this patent by force of arms proving abortive, he was arrested, upon a charge of high treason, at Cambridge, and, being condemned, was beheaded on Tower Hill, 22nd August, 1553.—*Burke's Extinct Peerages.*

¹ Wood's Translation.

service uppon Satturdaie next followinge or Sundaie at the furthest. And his said Majestie, by the advice aforesaid, most straightlie chargeth all persons to whome it maie appertaine, to followe and execute with all convenient speed and dilligence, uppon paine of his highnes indignacion and displeasure. Providedde allwaies, and his highnesse nevertheles doth signifie, that by this present proclamacion it is not his Majesties minde that anie such gentlemen, as be of the ordinaires of his highnes chamber or houshold, should depart or goe home. But that they shall give theire attendance uppon his highnes here in the Courte, as heretofore they were commanded, anie thing in this present proclamacion notwithstanding.

“ Given the xvith. of August in the third yeare of his highnes Raigne.”¹

Upon learning that he had been appointed to the command of the army raised for suppressing the Norfolk rebels, Warwick wrote the following letter, in which we find this proud, ambitious man, displaying such humility and consideration for others, as, but for the existence of this document, no one would have believed him capable of:

WARWICK TO CECIL.

“ Gentyll master Cecille : after my very harty commendacions for your frendly lettre occurrante, perceving how we stand now with the ffrench, which in my opynyon ys better for us than under theyr colloured frendship use us as yvell as now they can it being open war. Wisshing, if it were the wyll of God, that we had no more to deale with all at ones. But syns yt ys thus, we must pull uppe our hartes, and putt our confydence in the Lorde. And whereas with your lettre I received a comyssion in the which yt aperith that I am apoyntyd to have the leading of the sheres of Cambridge, Bedford, Hontington, Northampton, Norffolk and Suffolk, for the which, like as I do think my selfe most bounden to my lordes grace and the Councell for inhabling me to receyve so grete a charge, so I cannot but wishe that yt might please the same to permytt and suffer my lord Marques of

¹ Cotton MSS., Titus B. ii. 4. This is not the original document, but only a copy.

Northampton to contynew styll in the force of his Commission, or at the lest renewyd, for asmoche as the noble man haveng lately by misfortune received discomfort enough, haply this might gyve him occasion to think him self utterly discredytd, and so for ever discourage him: it in my opynyon were great pyty. Wherfor, yf it might please his grace to use his servis agayne, I shalbe as gladd for my part to joyn with him; yea, rather then fayle, with all my hartt to serve under him for this journey, as I wold be to have the hole auctorite my selfe. And by this meanes his grace shall preserve his hartt, and hable him to serve hereafter, which other wys he shalbe utterly in himselfe discouradged. I wold wish that no man for oon mischaunce or yvell happ, to the which we be all subject, that must serve, shold be utterly abject. for yf it shold be so, yt were all most a present discomfort to all men be fore they goo to yt. syns thos thinges lithe¹ in God's hand. therefore good Mr. Cicill use your accustomyd wysdom and good hartt, that ye bear to my lordes grace, in declaring this matter with affect to the same. And with dilligence let me here from you agayn and in the meane I shall lose no tyme to putt these sheres yn a redynes to serve as apertayneth. Fare you well at Warr-wik this sondaye at iiij in the morning the xith. of August.

“Your faithfull frend

J. WARWYK.”²

Endorsed—“To my veray Loveng ffrend Mr. Cicill
this be delivered with spede.”

The following extracts show that Captain Drury, who subsequently greatly distinguished himself, had been already sent on to Cambridge, and that from thence he passed on with his band into Suffolk, as a part of Warwick's army:

“Mr. Williams had warrant for c^{li} of the sale money to Doctor Wende payd by him to Captⁿ Drury and his band lying at Cambridge.—Aug. vth.³

“The same treasurer (Mr. Williams) had warrant for xij^{li} x^s to Thomas Drury in Reward to him and his Band for thapprehension of one Peyn a notable Rebell of Suff. this of the sales.—xii. Aug.

¹ *I. e.* “lieth.”

² State Paper Office—Domestic, Edward VI. vol. viii. No. 38.

³ Register of Privy Council, Edward VI. vol. i. p. 558.

"The same Threasurer had warrant for xx^{li} of the sales imprest to the same Drury toward payment of his Band to be signified to Hornyold treasurer of the troops with therle of Warwyck." ¹

While the date of the following extract, on being compared with that (Aug. 10th) of the proclamation nominating Somerset to the command (see p. 114), gives us some idea of the state of uncertainty in which the Protector was, as to whether or not he should go against the Norfolk insurgents :

"The same threasurer (Mr. Peckham) had warrant for vm^{li} (£5,000) to John Hermynold [or Hornywold] to be employed by my lorde of Warwikes order in tharmy agaynst the Rebelles.—Aug. vij." ²

When tidings of these preparations reached the Camp; that the King and his Council were determined to suppress them by force; that one was appointed to the command who, whatever "he had attempted, had always achieved with honour;" ³ and that, besides, "a captayn, armour, bands of men, and all instruments for the terror of warre, had been provided against them, to be readie and at hand: they beganne every day to fortifie themselves, and to look about for all things necessary, and to trayne themselves, that they might bee the more able to make resistance;" ⁴ showing, to the last, that confidence in their cause, which makes us feel they were sincere; and that "stout minde," which we cannot but admire.

The Earl of Warwick, after he had furnished himself with soldiers at home and from beyond the seas, with money, weapons, and all things necessary for the war, departed from London, accompanied by all his forces, and proceeded by Cambridge and "Newmarket to Norwich ward, with all expedicion they might." ⁵

There were in that army, the Marquis of Northampton, Warwick's request having been complied with; Ambrose Dudley, afterwards

¹ Register of Privy Council, Edw. VI. vol. i. p. 562.

² Id. p. 559.

³ Sir John Hayward.

⁴ Wood's Translation.

⁵ N. Sotherton: Nevylle says the number of his troops was "about 14,000."—Edward VI. in his Journal, says, "Th'erle of Warwic came with the nombre of 6,000 men ~~or above~~ (*sic*) and 1,500 horsmen."

Earl of Warwick,¹ and Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, Warwick's sons; Lord Willoughby,³ Lord Powis,⁴ Lord Bray,⁵ "with

¹ Ambrose Dudley, 1561, was created Earl of Warwick; but, though three times married, died without issue in 1589.—*Burke's Extinct Peerages*.

² Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was subsequently the notorious favourite of Queen Elizabeth. His first wife was the ill-fated Amy Robsart.—*Burke's Ext. Peerages*.

³ Sir William Willoughby was created Lord Willoughby of Parham, 16th February, 1547. He was made lieutenant of Calais and the adjacent marches, in the fourth year of Edward VI., and resided there during the remainder of that king's reign. He died in 1574. George Willoughby, the seventeenth baron, died without issue in 1779, when this barony became extinct.—*Burke's Extinct Peerages*.

The following extracts show that Lord Willoughby was not (as Neville states) with Warwick, but that, having raised what troops he could in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, &c., he was lying at Lynn at this time, and on the point of setting out for Walsingham, or Hingham: supposing him to have done so, he would, undoubtedly, on hearing of the Earl of Warwick's coming, hasten to join him at Norwich:—

"Thomas Hussey," in his letter to "Wm. Cecill" (State Paper Office—Domestic, Edward VI. vol. viii. 45a), having alluded to "the towardenes of Robt Buntinge," who has been already mentioned (p. 113), continues thus: "As to morowe my Lord Willoughby intendeth to march toward Walsingham with his hole Band, or elles to Ingham, but Walsingham is thought more meet, by cause the partes aboute Ingham is utterly, as they saye, spoyled bothe of malt, bevys and mottions. I thynk he shalbe able to cary withime of well armed footmen out of Lyncoln shyre xj hundreth men, and from the town of Lynne, Marshland, and Cambregeshyre iiij hundreth men and as I thynk so to wayet upon my Lord Leftenaunt upon his pleasure knowen. We have besydes aboute $\frac{xx}{vi}$ [six score] lyght horsmen. As we shall procede so shall I from tyme to tyme advertyse youe. Thus I commit youe to God. From Kynges Lynne the xixth. of August.

"Youres to command

THOMAS HUSEY."

While the following shows that the town of Wisbeach contributed its quota to his lordship's forces:—

From the Records of the Wisbech Corporation (A.D. 1549).—"Payd for y^e costs and charge of xxxvij men sent to Lynne to serve y^e kings matie in his affaires in the comocyon tyme agaynst y^e rebells in Norff. for their coats dubletts boytes and other their apparell with vj^s viij^d every of them in their purses as by y^e particulars [*i. e.* the bill of particulars] it may and dothe appere the sum off xxviij^{li} ix^s viij^d."

I am indebted to the kindness of W. Peckover, Esq., F.S.A., for this extract.

⁴ Sir Edward Grey, third Baron Grey of Powis, died in 1552, without lawful issue, and the barony of Grey de Powis consequently became extinct: there is, however, some doubt as to its being so.—*Burke's Extinct Peerages*.

⁵ John Braye, second Lord Braye, was a commanding officer in the expedition made into France under the Earl of Hertford, in the thirty-eighth year of Henry VIII.; and

grett nombre of Lords, knights,¹ and Squiers and Gentylnen, and others," native and foreign² troops, "with gret store of armour, munycion, shot, powder, ordynance shott, whose nombre is written to be xij M."³

The Earl having commenced his journey, in due course arrived at Cambridge, where, in the Accompts of the Treasurers of the town, occur the following charges relating to the insurrection, and to Warwick's passage through the town :

"Item, for the expences of Mr. Mayer and the companie in the comocion tyme at Barnewell, vj^s. viij^d.

"Item, to Mr. Mayer for the costs of the watchemen that watched the same tyme, xx^s.

"Item, to hym at another tyme when Edward Loft went to Thetforthe as a scout watche, xv^s.

"Item, for a present gyven to the Erle of Warwycke by the comaundement of Mr. Mayor and the Aldermen, xix^s.

"Item, for a reward gyven to his Trompetters, v^s.

upon the insurrection in Norfolk, in the third (Burke says second, but wrongly) of Edward VI., his lordship marched with the Earl of Warwick (Burke says, Marquess of Northampton, but wrongly again) for its suppression. He died without issue, 19th November, 1557, and was buried at Chelsea Church.—*Burke's Extinct Peerages*.

¹ In the Earl's train were also, Henry Willoughby, Esq.; Sir Thomas Gresham; Sir Marmaduke Constable; William Devereux, son of the Lord Ferrers of Chartley; Sir Edmund Knevet; Sir Thomas Palmer; Sir Andrew Flammock; Henry Wylby, Esq.; Gyles Ffoster, Esq.; Thomas Lusye of Charlcot, Esq.; besides many others.—*Blomefield*.

² The following relates to these mercenaries (Privy Council Register, Edward VI. vol. i. p. 571):—

"Aug. xx. Sir John Williams had warrant for x^{li} x^s to Sir Thomas Smyth, Mr. Secretary for so much pd. to him, viz. ten poundes to Hudson leader of the iiij enseignes of Allemans footemen to therle of Warwyck, Lieutenant of tharmy advaunced against the Rebelles of Norff. the same ten poundes to be defolked of [*i. e.* deducted from] Hudsons wages being v^s per diem and iiij servantes at vi^s the pece. Also x^s to Humfrey Mychell sent to the sayd Hudson with the sayd money. This to be repayed of the sales."

Other notices of payment will be found in Appendix (R).

³ N. Sotherton: Nevylle says, "about 14,000." Edward VI., in his Journal, says: "Th'erle of Warwic came with the nombre of 6,000 men ~~or above~~ (*sic*) and 1,500 horsmen."

"Item, for the expences of Richard Bowman and other when they caryed up the Rebels in the companye of Payne,¹ xx^s.

"Item, payd to the Proctor of the unyversyte for halffe the charges of his costs, and expences spent in obteynyng a general pardon, xxxviij^s. viij^d.

"Item, to Mr. Mayer for the expences of the watche, xij^s.

"Item, payd more to the watchemen, xx^s.

"Item, for mendinge of the prison after the prisoners brake out, viz. to Moyne for mendinge the grate and a locke, xij^d.

"Item, for carrying out of Gallows, and for a newe Rope, iiij^d.

"Item, for setting up and bryngyng in of yt agene, vj^d." ²

He was here met, at the entrance to Cambridge, by certain of the Aldermen and citizens of Norwich, who, falling upon their knees, with weeping and lamentable voice, began earnestly to entreat him, "That he would lay no grievous thing to their charge, for they were innocent persons and guiltie of no crime. Yet they besought the mercy and favour of the Prince, for they had verily conceived an incredible griefe of this miserable destruction and spoile of their countrey, and had further indured all extremitie at the rebels' hands. In the end, to provide for their lives, they were constrayned to flye the City, and with sword and fire were cast out, not only from the City, but from their wives and children, and all their friends. In so great misery wherewith they were pressed on every side, they crave nothing else, but if in this common and exceeding feare, through ignorance and folly, unwittingly they have wrapped themselves in any offence, the same might not be imputed unto them, but upon their repentance and humble petition it might be pardoned." ³

Hereunto Warwick answered, that "Hee perceived how great perill they were in, and that without doubt the strength of those men was great, which had driven them from all these things as deare unto them as life it selfe; affirming that they had done nothing amisse to his knowledge. In that they had left the Citie in so great feare and

¹ Keeper of the tolbooth or town prison.

² From Annals of Cambridge, by C. H. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., vol. ii. p. 43.

³ Wood's Translation.

danger, it was but the infirmitie of man, and to be borne withall. Notwithstanding, in one thing they were somewhat imprudent, that they withstood not these evils in the very beginning: for a few valiant and wise men might have dispatched those companies in a moment, if, at the commencement, they had opposed themselves for the health of their countrey. Notwithstanding, he granted pardon at their request, and offered the King's favour to them all; willing them, when they had furnished themselves with weapons, and with the furniture of souldiers, to be in a readinesse to follow the host, having laces about their necks to be discerned from the rest."¹

After this he departed from Cambridge, and on the 22nd of August arrived at Wymondham, being joined on his way by such of the Norfolk gentry as still retained their liberty,—a proceeding with which he was exceedingly pleased.² Leaving this place on the 23rd, he came with all his army to Intwood, which is distant from Norwich about three miles. Here Sir Thomas Gresham³ had a fair and large house, where Warwick abode till next day with his company, who remained under arms and ready for battle, if perchance the enemy should excite any tumult on the sudden; who beheld from the walls and towers of the City, what was taking place. In the mean time, Warwick, while lying with his army at Intwood, "of his clemencie and for avoiding of bloudshed and saving the Gentylnen in Captivity,"⁴ sent his herald,⁵ who, in the name of the King, as is customary,

¹ Wood's Translation.

² Blomefield.

³ Sir Thomas Gresham resided at Intwood Hall. He here entertained the Earl of Warwick, as stated above, and subsequently Queen Elizabeth, on her progress to Norwich, in 1578. His father's mark (Sir Richard Gresham), with the initials R. G., is now on the spandril of an old door at Intwood; and on an ancient porch are the arms of Gresham carved in stone, together with the grasshopper, the well-known crest or cognizance of the family. In 1542 the corporation sent half a porpoise as a present to Lady Gresham, at Intwood.—*Norf. Archæol.* vol. iii. p. 188.—See also *Art Journal* for 1848, in which a view of the old Hall is given.

⁴ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁵ By referring to the City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 304*b*, Appendix (I), it will be seen that Warwick had with him "Mr. Norroy, haywad," *i. e.* herald, "at armys," *i. e.* at arms; "Mr. Bluemantyll, harward," *i. e.* herald; and "ij Trompeters." "Norroy

proclaimed war against the citizens, unless they immediately opened the gates, and admitted the King's army.

Kett, when he understood that the herald had come to the gates, directed Augustine Steward, the Mayor's Deputy, and Robert Rugge, Alderman, to go and inquire what he demanded, who replied, "It was to know if they would receive in the Leiftenant."¹ These being, thereupon, let out at a postern, made answer, "That they counted themselves the miserablest men alive, which had indured so many and great discomfitures both in minde and body, as at the remembrance thereof all the parts of their body tremble. Neverthelesse, this one thing was added unto the rest, which increased the height of their calamity, griefe, and shame; because that fidelity which they ought, and earnestly desired to perform to his Majesty, they were not able to fulfill at this time, and judged themselves the unhappiest that lived in this age; wherein they were ever compelled either to undergoe the danger of their life, or the hazard of their dignitie. Notwithstanding, they hoped well of the King's Majestie, as those which had no wayes bound themselves in any consent of these villanies, but had restrayned (as much as was in them) the rest of the citizens, with great losse of their goods, and ever with an incredible danger of their lives. Moreover, they most humbly besought this one thing of the Earle, that because there were in the City an innumerable company of Kett's Campe, unarmed and pore (who, besides being through feare and conscience of their owne wickednesse holden guilty, moreover were weary of their doings, as which had filled the very desire of working mischief with the sacietie² of their furies), it would please him once againe to try that which hath been often prooved in vaine: signifying that they greatly hoped (if at this time might be offered unto them againe the hope

king at arms" had a busy time of it, as the following extract from the Privy Council Register, Edward VI. vol. i. p. 566, Aug. xx. shows:

"The same Threasurer [Mr. Williams] had warrant for xliij^{li} to Norroy king at armes for divers voyages by him made into Kent, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk about the pacifying of the Rebelles."

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² *I. e.* "satiety."

of impunitie) it would come to passe that forthwith they would lay down their weapons, without slaughter and bloudshed. Which thing (if it might come to passe) would be an eternall memorie unto posteritie, and a glorie exceeding all victorie, if they might carry home peace, and their weapons unstained with the bloud of civill dissention."¹

The herald straightway departed, and delivered to Warwick the answer he had received; who, being anxious, if such were possible, "that this flame so dangerous and dreadfull might be quenched without slaughter and bloudshed," determined "that it should not be measured according to the villanies they had committed, but according to the dignitie of the King and the utilitie of the kingdome."¹ He was, moreover, afraid lest the gentlemen, who were imprisoned in the Castle and elsewhere, "tossed and turmoiled with the great waves of feare," might be slain: for the rebels were continually threatening them with death, and especially Sir Roger Woodhouse, whom they were very bitter against. Warwick therefore resolved on trying them again with the offer of pardon.

To this end the herald, "after one quarter of an hower,"² returned with a trumpeter and said: "Soe the parcellis³ were pullid up hee would see what to doe."² The portcullis was raised, the gates thrown open, and "xxx or xl of the rebellis well horsid" came and "very pleasant and merry,"⁴ "rid in Couples before the Harrold the trumpetter and two Aldermen through y^e Cyttye to y^e gate next the Campe," Bishop Bridge Gates, "where after y^e sound of y^e trumpett,"² "great routs of Rebels came flocking by heapes unto them from the hill; the horsemen thereupon with a swift course ranne unto them, commanding, that dividing themselves, the one halfe should stand in ranke over against the other."¹ When they had done this, the herald with his trumpeter, and the two Aldermen going in the midst between the ranks "the space of

¹ Wood's Translation.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ *I. e.* "portcullis."

⁴ Blomefield.

a quarter of a myle,"¹ were received on every side with loud shouts, all uncovering their heads, and as it were with one mouth crying, "God save King Edward! God save King Edward!" He having commended them for this, the Aldermen at the same time desiring them to keep their ranks, at length came to the top of the hill, "having on his rich coate of armes, as solemne ensignes of his office." Previous to Kett's coming, he spake after this manner:—

"They were not ignorant, from the first time ever since they had wickedly taken up armes against their country, how many and sundry waies, by all meanes possible, labour and study, the King's Majestie had imploied his care, to the ende to bring them from the crueltie of those villainies, whereby they had violated all lawes of God and men, to some consideration of their duties, and regard of their owne safetie; and had sent unto them messengers and proclaimers of peace, not once, but often, againe and againe. Notwithstanding, they regarded not, but ever despised, and by all meanes misused them, through their detestable madnesse and disloyaltie. But (now in the sight of God) whither would they rush? whither would they throw both themselves, headlong, and their goods with deadly furie? what measure would they put to their most trecherous madnesse? or what ende of their most vile counsels? How long, being stirred up through pestilent lusts, which they had once suffered to enter into their mindes, would they, with deadly folly, continue to pursue their false and idle hopes of victory? How long would they adorne with counterfeit titles the foule impietie of mischievous treason? How long would they wrappe in the false garments of seeming vertue their horrible foulness and villanies? Finally, how long would they be holden bound with the fatal desire of those things, on their obtaining which, if such were allowable, the destruction of the Common-wealth would insue presently, much more intolerable and lamentable? But rather now at the last, instead of acting thus, they should look about them awhile, and apply both their minds and understanding, and mark thorowly, with more intentive eyes, their Common-wealth,² of which in all their talke, no lesse foolishly than wickedly and

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² See Appendix (N).

ungodly, they are wont to boast. Surely then may easily be seene whether they be faithfull subjects, and worthy of the name of good citizens; which have taken up hostile armes against the King's Majestie; which have gathered together routs of wicked men, despised and vile; which have brought upon their countrie (the common parent of us all) ungodly and sacrilegious hands; which have let the refuse of the people, and the vilest of all mortall men (cast out, for the most part, of all English societies) into the Commonwealth, to the destruction of the good, and overthrow of the kingdome; which have defaced with mercilesse fire, the greatest part of this most worthie Citie; which hath laid in most vile prison and bands, many worthy and excellent persons, and have slaine some with most extreme torture; which have utterly emptied the best furnished houses, and polled and shaven the neighbour villages; which have alienated to their own use the goods of many (of late rich men, but now through their crueltie, miserable and needie) and carried them unto their wretched Campe by most cruell robberies; which have forged fained lawes, false letters and commissions in the King's name; which have prophaned the temple of the great and mighty God; overthrowne the houses of private men; wasted and spoiled the fields on every side; which have converted all their thought, studies, and enterprises to destruction, slaughter, wasting, burning, and stealing; finally, which have left nothing remaining, whither the rage and madnesse of their furie could further carrie them, but either their riotous lusts utterly devoured, or their foul importunitie scattered abroad. When they see themselves thus guilty of these so many, so great, and so horrible pollutions of wickednesse in the sight of God, their King, and the Commonwealth; and when now they see all their goods and substance to be brought into that place, and so confiscate and lost, that to bee in a worse condition than now they are in (for they are in the worst) they cannot be, if they would; then let them thinke with themselves, into how large a sea of evils they have throwne themselves headlong; and let them thinke what they may feare, over whose heads alwaies hangeth the just wrath of God (which surely by no meanes can be avoided) and the inevitable power

of the King, offended and displeased. For his Majestie had decreed, not to suffer any longer these so great evils to abide in the bowels of his kingdome, neither to leave any longer unpunished and unrevenge, this so foul crueltie and intollerable boldnesse. And therefore had chosen the Earle of Warwicke, (a man of renowned honour, and of great name, and unto this work appointed Generall from his Majestie,) who must pursue them with fire and sword; and hath further injoynd him never to leave off untill hee had utterly rooted out that vile and horrible company. Notwithstanding, such is his great bountie and clemencie, that whom he hath appointed a revenger of this desperate and wicked rout (if they persevere) the same also he would have, to be (if they shall doe otherwise) a messenger and minister of his mercie:¹ the which, except they would imbrace it at this time, refusing all sinister advice, Warwicke hath most solemnly sworne, shall never hereafter be offered unto any of them again: but (as he was commanded of the King) he would pursue with fire and sword all the companions of that most pernicious conspiracy, the officers, ministers, and abettors thereof, as the most pestilent enemies to the King's Majesty; neither would he make an end of pursuing them, until they (which had defiled all places with their new, unheard of, and unpardonable treason, and had drowned themselves in such furious waves of wickedness,) had received condigne punishment of God and the King."²

When he had made an end, although many being doubtful as to what the end would be, "in feare tremblid;"³ yet the greater part, being grievously offended with his speech, were so excited, as presently to revile the herald with shouts and cursings; some calling him traitor, and saying that he had not been sent from the King;

¹ The herald said, "that if they would like naturall subjects repent of theyr demeanour and humbly submit themselvis to y^e Kings mercy, hee would graunt to them his highnes pardon for life and goods, Kett only excepted: if not, hee protested with his helpe in whome his confidence rested that hee would never depart out of the place, till, without pittie and mercy, hee had vanquisht them with the sword." Of this exception, mentioned by Sotherton, Nevylle takes no notice. But for this, it seems likely Kett would have accepted, and have used his influence with his followers to induce them to accept, the proffered pardon.

² Wood's Translation.

³ Nicholas Sotherton.

but had received his lesson from the gentlemen, "to bring them asleepe with flattering words, and faire promises, in order to deceive them in the end, whereby napping as it were, and carelesse, they might the easier bee taken, while they feared no such things."¹ Others said the pardon in appearance seemed good and liberal, but would prove in the end lamentable and deadly, since it was nothing else than "barrels filled with ropes and halters:"¹ and as for his painted coat, distinct and beautiful with gold, it was not the insignia of a herald, but sewed together out of Popish vestments.² Many things besides, in their rage and fury, they uttered against him, while all round about poured forth the bitterness of their venom in cruel speeches, savouring of death itself. Notwithstanding, the herald went from thence with Kett to another part, where he proclaimed the same thing to the rest of the people, who by reason of the press had not previously been able to hear him.

It happened before he had made an end of his speech, that a boy being guilty of great rudeness, one of the soldiers, who had crossed the river to see what was taking place, was so excited as, regardless of the consequences, to shoot at and kill him: whereupon "came riding through the wood a xij or more horsmen, exclaiming that the Harrold cam not but for a traine to have them all destroyid, saying, 'Our men are kyllid by the water side.'"³

Then "they severed them³ like mad men;" but Kett, joining

¹ Wood's Translation.

² We have here an indirect, and at the same time interesting, proof of the spirit prevailing amongst the Norfolk rebels, and that they certainly had not risen in favour of "the old religion." Nevylle's words are: "*Tunicam autem illam pictam, auroque distinctam et illustrem, neutiquam esse fecialia insignia, sed quiddam ex Papisticis consutum ornamentis.*" Sotherton in like manner says: "Hee was not sent by y^e kinge nor was his Harrold, but made by the Gentlemen putting on him a piece of an old Cope for his Cote armour, with other despightfull words;"—a statement clearly showing that the people were angry with the herald, and that "old Copes," so far from finding favour with them, were rather objects of ridicule. Blomefield, following Holinshed, seems inclined to take a different view, and to consider this mention of church vestments a proof that the havoc made amongst church ornaments was what had excited the anger of the people.

³ Nicholas Sotherton.

the herald, rode "without staye to a place called Sturt hyll, where, half way downe, Kett, willing¹ to have gon with" him "to the Lord Lieuetenant," was met, when they had come nearly to the bottom of the hill, by a mighty rout of rebels, crying out, "Whither away, whither away, Mr. Kett? if you goe we will goe with you, and with you will live and dye."² It was a trying moment, the turning-point in Kett's career: he had been excepted from the general pardon,³ it is true, yet the herald held out such fair promises, he was inclined to go to the Earl; their grievances might yet be redressed, and he might, with safety to himself, lay down the authority he had assumed for what he believed to be the general good; and, while he might be hoping this, there was, on the other hand, the numerous and well-disciplined army that had come against him, the stern determination on the part of the King's Council to crush him, and the doubt probably arising in his mind as to his followers being able, in the end, to prevail:—we can easily imagine all these conflicting thoughts to have flashed through his mind, as silently he rode between the rebel ranks; and we cannot but wish that he had, under the influence of these thoughts, seen Warwick face to face, and, having thrown himself on the King's mercy, secured a general pardon for all, together with some redress of their many grievances, for the obtaining of which, he and his followers had taken up arms. The herald, unconscious of the conflict going on in his companion's breast, and anxious about his own safety, which seemed in jeopardy, a great number of the rebels tumultuously rushing after him, "willed Kett to goe backe againe, and stay this concourse and tumult: who, being returned to his company, they were presently quiet, and went backe all of them againe into the Campe."⁴

When the Earl of Warwick perceived that they, neither by entreaty nor fair promises, nor yet by the fear of punishment, could be won from their enterprise, it seemed best to lay aside all hope of

¹ From the "Inquis. post mortem" in the Appendix, [it will be seen that Kett, singularly enough, held property at Wymondham, under the Earl of Warwick.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ See Note (1), p. 128.

⁴ Wood's Translation.

peace, and to deal with them in open war. Accordingly,¹ he led his army to Saint Stephen's Gates, which the rebels, having let down the portcullis, had closed, and commanded the King's master gunner to plant the ordnance near, that, it being battered down, a way might be made for the soldiers whereby to enter the City. When they were about to do this, he was informed by Augustine Steward, the Mayor's Deputy, that there was a postern not far off, called Brazen doors, which, though it had been made fast with great beams and pieces of timber, and rampired up with stones and earth, could, without much labour, easily be broken open. The pioneers were accordingly commanded to commence at this point, where, having succeeded, the soldiers first forced their way into the City, and killing many, drove the rebels from that place. In the mean time, the master gunner "dischargid and brake y^e halfe gate and perculis"² at Saint Stephen's Gates,³ where the Marquis of Northampton and Captain Drury, a man

¹ Saturday, August 24th.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ The City Chamberlain's Accompts (p. 306) contain the following account of the repairs subsequently done at these gates:—

"Other mynute expenses and payments hade and payd betwyxt myhelmas and our lady day the anuncyacion after the end of thys Accompt of and for the causes of the forsayd Comocion.

"*Seynt Stephyns* In primis p^d for drynke for a dozen
Gats. men y^t holpe oon halff gate at Seynt
 Stephyns of [*i. e.* off] the hooks, and carte y^t
 caryed y^t } — „ — „ ij

"Itm to hubbard caryeng the same gate to the Crown
 yarde to be newe made and from thense ageyn whan
 yt was don } — „ ij „ —

p. 306b. "Itm to paschall for takyng of [*i. e.* off] the
 nayles and Ryvetts of the same half gate and clyck
 w^t the hengylls and jemews [*i. e.* hinges and jimmers]
 and for brekkyng of dyvse toles [*i. e.* tools] abought
 the same } — „ iij „ iij

"Itm to John fellbrygge Carpenter newe makyn the
 same gate w^t certen tymbyr y^t he fownde therto as
 it appere by his bylle } — „ xxv „ —

"Itm

of excellent valour, with their troops, hastily entered, "skorid¹ the streets and killed divers Rebellis."²

Also, on another side of the City, the Mayor's Deputy caused the gates called Westwick or St. Benedict's gates to be opened, through which Warwick, with all his host, were let in, scarcely any resisting, and came into the market-place, "where divers Rebellis were fownd and hangid that night:"²

p. 304. "Itm for a pece of tymbyr and makyng of a } — „ — „ viij
payer of gallows at the Crosse.....

p. 304b. "Itm p^d for the Charges of beryeng [*i. e.* bury- } — „ iij „ ix
ing] of xlix men that war hangyd at the Crosse in
the market, for makyng pytts and carryeng to them³

"Itm for mendyng of a leddyr y^t was broken at the } — „ — „ iij"
Crosse w^t hangyng of men⁴

This proceeding is commended by Nevylle, though it ill accorded with that willingness to pardon but shortly before professed by Warwick: "without hearing the cause, all of them were presently (as the

¹ *I. e.* "scoured."

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ Wood's Translation.

³ It has been supposed these "pytts" were without Magdalen Gate, human remains having been found there.

⁴ City Chamberlain's Accompts.

"Itm to Raphe Marsham for a pece of dry square tym- } — „ iij „ iij
byr wherof the long edge pece and the nether stay
war made.....

"Itm to Thomas Codde Mayer for sawed planke dry jCx } — „ vij „ iij
fote at vjs „ viij^d a C.....

"Itm to John Elye for mendyng y^e crosse hengyll } — „ — „ xij
benethe the Clycke [*i. e.* the small door in the large
one]

"Itm to hym for lenthying y^e mydyll hengyll puttyng } — „ iij „ —
therto xij^{lb} of newe yron.....

"Itm to hym for oon newe jemewe for the Clycke iij^s, } — „ iij „ viij
and to paschall for makyng of a newe joynte to the
oy^r jemewe viij^d

"Itm to hym for mendyng the locke of the Clycke gat } — „ — „ xij
and a newe keye for y^e same

"Itm



NORTH-EAST CORNER 1732

Architectural drawing of the engraving

of excellent valour, with their troops, hastily entered, "skorid" the streets and killed divers Rebels.¹

Also, on another side of the City, the Mayor's Deputy caused the gates called Westwick or St. Benedict's gates to be opened through which Warwick, with all his host, were let in, scarcely any resisting, and came into the market-place, "where divers Rebels were fownd and hangid that night."²

p. 304. "Itm for a pece of tymbyr and makyng of a } — " — " viij
payer of gallows at the Crosse.....

p. 304b. "Itm p^d for the Charges of beryeng (i. e. bury- } — " iiij " ix
ing) of xlix men that war hangyd at the Crosse in
the market, for makyng pytts and carryeng to them³

"Itm for mendyng of a leddyr y^t was broken at the } — " — " iiij"
Crosse w^t hangyng of men⁴.....

This proceeding is commended by Neville, though it ill accorded with such religiousness as pardon but shortly before professed by Warwick. "without hanging the rascals, all of them were presently (as the

accounted."

¹ Nicholas Detherton.

² Wood's Translation.

³ It has been supposed these "pytts" were without Magdalen Gate, however remains
of them are found there.

⁴ City Chamberlain's Account.

"Itm for Rephe Marsham for a pece of dry square tym- } — " iiij " viij
ber of the long edge pece and the nether stay

"Itm for Rephe Mayer for sawed planks dry jCx } — " viij " xij

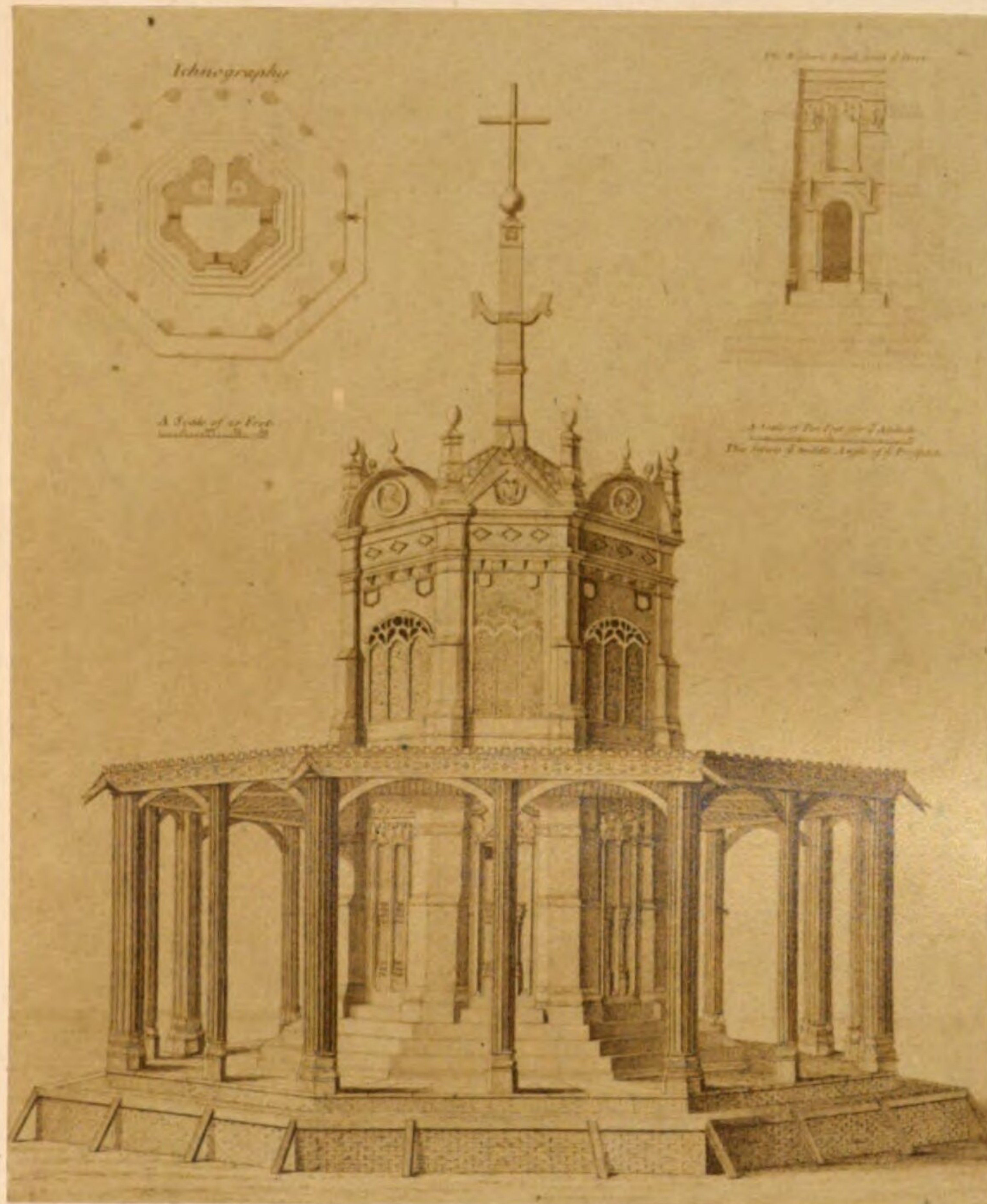
"Itm for mendyng y^e crosse hangyng } — " — " iiij
hangyng the crosse (i. e. the small door in the large
one)

"Itm to hym for mendyng y^e wyrdyll hengyll puttyng } — " iiij " —
thereto xij^s of newe rask

"Itm to hym for cuttynge jernewe for the Clycke } — " iiij " viij
and to patchell the wyrdyll of a newe joynte to the
oy^e jernewe viij^s

"Itm to hym for mendyng the locke of the Clycke } — " iiij " —
and a newe keye for y^e same

"Itm



NORWICH CROSS IN 1732.

Photographed from an old Engraving.

See P. 132.

manner of warres is) manifestly convict of their wickednesse, and received their last punishment.”¹

As Warwick was in the market-place, there came to him “the wholle Cytezins with their Servants, that had long bin hid, and cryde for pardon, to whome the Lord Lieuetenant answrid they shuld have pardon and commandid every man home to his house and to keepe the same,” and to take care “that noe Rebells were therein sustained, which made a greate nombre of glad hartis, that dyd as they were bydden. This done about three of the Clock afternoone cam in all the carts with carriage² and munition att the seide Westwick Gate.”³ And now occurred an incident which might lead one to think Warwick a careless commander, or his drivers very heedless; but which a knowledge of the localities is quite sufficient to account for. On their entering the City and reaching Charing Cross, instead of turning to the right, and so proceeding to the market-place, they went straight on, down Tombland, across St. Martin’s Palace Plain, and ultimately

¹ Wood’s Translation.

² At this time “carriage” meant “things carried;” but now “that which carries” us. A similar use of this word occurs at Acts xxi. 15.

³ Nicholas Sotherton.

“Itm to John Ronhale for lxxvj^{lb} of newe Nayles and Ryvetts at iij^d lb..... } — „ xix „ —

“Itm to hym for sharpyng of old nayles — „ — „ xij

“Itm for iij dayes worke of hym and his man clynkyng the gate hengylls and jemews } — „ iij „ vj

p. 307. “Itm to Wyllm Pede for a newe plate locke... — „ ij „ iiij

“Itm to the seyd pede for a barre of yron y^t closse bothe halffe gats instede of a tymbyr barre w^t certen dyce hede nayles and ryvetts, as well for setting on of the same barre, as for pecyng the oth^r halffe gate all together ^{xx} . viij^{lb} [*i. e.* 4 score and 8 lb.] at iij^d the lb..... } — „ xxij „ —

“Itm to hym for other yron worke for speryng [*i. e.* securing, making safe] of the same gat as barres, capps, stapylls, hoks, chenys, hespys and oy^r thyngs xiiij^{lb}... } — „ iij „ vj

“Itm

out at Bishop's Gates, to their own no small amazement, and to the evident delight of the rebels, who, "greatly rejoycing (for before they were utterly unprovided of such things) carryed into the Campe carts loaden with gunnes, gunpowder, and all kinde of instruments of warre:"¹ Captain Drury, however, came upon them with his band, and recovered part from the enemy, yet not without some loss.

p. 313. "Itm p^d to John Porter surgeon for helyng of
certen of Capt. Drurys men, which war hurt at
Bishops gate the same night that my lord of Warwyk
enterd the Cyte..... } — „ xxxiiij „ iiij

"Itm to Capteyn Drurys Surgeon — „ vj „ viij

"Itm to vj of Capteyn Drurys men² — „ vj „ —"

He lost also some of the shot,—a loss which the citizens speedily helped to remedy:—

p. 304. "Impms p^d for lede ij^c iiij^{qrs} xj^{lb} dd [*i. e.* delivered]
the fyrst nyght to the Master of the Ordinance to
make Gonshotte for so moche as the shot of dyvers
peces war takyn by the rebells the fyrst nyght at
v^s a C..... } — „ xiiij „ iiij

"Itm to ij men y^t sought for fremasons and joyners to
make moulds } — „ — „ viij

¹ Wood's Translation.

² City Chamberlain's Accompts.

"Itm to hym for a hangyng locke [*i. e.* a padlock] w^t a
keye for y^e forsayd barre y^t closse in both gats..... } — „ ij „ —

"Itm to hym for setting on of all y^e forsayd yron worke
and clynkyng the same..... } — „ ij „ —

p. 309. *Town Walls.*

"Itm to a Mason stoppyng in certen holls [*i. e.* holes]
in the walls betwyxt St. Stephyns and St. Gylys's
Gates, which ware broken open at my lord of
Warwicks comyng, to hym and hys man } — „ iiij „ —

"Itm The Bryck was of comon store lyeng in the brasen
Tow^r and Ston was gathered up in the Town Dycks
and about the walls but p^d to ij poore men y^t
gatherd up stonys and caryed them to the places
wher they was spent [*i. e.* used] } — „ — „ iiij "

“Item for freeston wherof was made mowlds and shote
 xij^d for wood and Astyll [*i. e.* round billets of wood]
 to melt ther lede xij^d and to Stephyn Screvens for
 howse romyth [*i. e.* house room] xij^d ¹..... } — „ iij „ — ”

The rebels, seeing the soldiers enter the City, began “to assemble in companies in many lanes, where they thought by little and little they might cutt off theyr enemies. For this purpose assemblid a greate Company in a brawde ² place next Christ Church,” or the Cathedral, “callyd Tomblonde, and soe devyded themselves in iij companies.” ³ Some of them stood in Saint Andrew’s; others near Saint Michael’s, Coslany; and others near Saint Simon’s, and Saint Peter’s Hungate, “by the Elme and about the Hyll next the Corner” of the building, “late the black fryars,” ³ now Saint Andrew’s Hall, all “in battell array.” There, setting suddenly upon some of our men, they slew three or four gentlemen before help could come. This being made known in the market-place, Warwick immediately went thither with all his forces, and, having passed through Saint John’s Maddermarket Street, came to Saint Andrew’s, where the rebels unexpectedly, with their bowmen, discharged “a mighty force of arrowes, ⁴ as flakes of snow in a tempest.” ⁵ While they were yet shooting, Captain Drury came suddenly a second time, with his band of arquebusiers, young men of excellent courage and skill, “who payed them home againe with such a terrible volly of shot (as if it had been a storm of hayle) and put them all to flight, as in a moment, trembling.” ⁵ There were slain at this skirmish about three hundred and thirty; ⁶ in addition to whom many, being found creeping in the neighbouring churchyards and under the walls, were taken and put to death. The rest, “through the waye and Christ Church were soe pursuid, that they fled” to their Camp, and “soe within one half hower were all driven out.” ³

¹ City Chamberlain’s Accompts.

² *I. e.* “broad.”

³ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁴ Four pages in Nev. de Furor. Norfolc. (131—134 inclusive) gave such offence to the Welsh, that they are usually omitted. The copy used by Blomefield did not contain these pages.

⁵ Wood’s Translation.

⁶ N. Sotherton says the number was “a C or there abowt.” It is not, however, clear, whether he means those slain in the engagement, or those killed immediately after.

Warwick, the better to guard the City, caused the walls to be manned; troops to be placed in every street, and all the City gates, with the exception of one or two, to be blocked up: while the authorities had the Cross in the market-place lighted up each night, until the rebellion was suppressed:

“ Itm for xvj^{lb} candyll brent¹ abought the Crosse in the } — „ ij „ iiij ”
market the iiij fyrste nyghts²..... }

The soldiers having carried out great store of ordnance, ready to be conveyed the next day to Mousehold, Kett's company, supposing them greatly distressed for powder, and other necessities; perceiving also that there were only a few Welshmen standing by the carriages and carts, who evidently were not expecting any assault; and greatly despising them (both because of their small company, and as being unable to resist if attacked by a large force rushing down the hill), they thought a good opportunity was offered of doing some notable exploit.

Accordingly, while Warwick's soldiers were hindered with other matters, one Myles, a man very skilful in discharging ordnance, watching his opportunity, shot the King's master gunner: when they saw he had fallen, some of them unarmed, others armed with staves, bills, and pitchforks, running down the hill, made an assault upon the above-mentioned Welshmen, who at the first encounter (so great was their terror, and so unlooked-for the attack), astonished and terrified by their disordered cries, and the horrible noise they made, leaving the baggage and carts, ran away on all sides, with much noise and great speed.³ When these had been thus put to flight, the rebels took and carried away to the Camp the ordnance they found there, and the carts laden with all things necessary for the war, before help could come. This success proved very hurtful to Warwick's men, since afterwards they wanted those things they had lost, while Kett's gunners discharged often the ordnance they had taken, and battered the City grievously.

It is interesting, after recording the above display of valour, to notice here how mistaken was the view taken of these insurgents by

¹ *I. e.* “ burnt.”

² City Chamb. Accts p. 304.

³ This was the offensive passage.

Somerset, as appears from the following letter to Sir Philip Hoby, written 24 Aug., 1549: ¹

* * "Th erle of Warwicke lieth nere to the Rebells in Norfolke, which faint now and wold have grace gladly, so that all might be pardoned, Ket and the other Archtraitours in the number. Upon that is a staie. And thei dalie shrinke so fast awaie, that there is great hope thei will leave their Capitaynes destitute and alone to receive their worthy reward. The which is the thing we most desire, to spare as much as may be th' effusion of bloud, and that namely of our owne nation." * * * "The Ruffians emonge them and soldiers, which be the movers and chiefe doers, loke for spoyle. So that it seemethe no other thing but a plage ² and a furie amonge the vilest and worst sorte of men: for excepte onlie Devon and Cornewall, and there not past ij or iij, in all other places not ennie gentelman ³ or man of reputacion was ever amonge them, but against their wills and as prisoners. In Norfolke gentlemen and all farming men for their sakes are as well handeled as may be: but this broyle is now well aswaged and in manner at a point shortly to be fully ended with the grace of God."

The rebels from that time till they were dispersed, used the ordinance they had got possession of, to such purpose, that numbers were slain, especially at Bishop's Gate, where they did "shoote downe a Tower, which slew many that there garded." ⁴ Though, however, the shot were flying in all directions, either by chance or of set purpose, or, most probably, from the rashness and ignorance of the gunners, who levelled somewhat too high, the shot mounted over the tops of the houses, without doing so much harm as might have been expected: had it not been for this, the greater part of the City would have been beaten down, and, it may be, utterly destroyed. And the general opinion was, that the loss at that time would have been worse, had not Capt. Drury succeeded in recovering a considerable portion of what had been driven away.

Warwick "wardid the breach more strongly," at Bishop's Gate,

¹ Harl. MSS. No. 523, p. 52.

² *I. e.* "plague."

³ See App. (S).

⁴ N. Sotherton.

"and kept y^e Rebellis owte all that nyghte,"¹ Saturday, Aug. 24th, and "appoynted the Lord Willowby with others to ward that streete and gate;"² "and so compassed and fortified all places, as the same night hee cut off from the enemy all entrance into the Citie."³

Sotherton, having stated that the rebels were kept out all night, subsequently says that they entered (or, more correctly, crossed the river at Conisford, or into King Street) the City the same night, and thus contradicts both Neville and himself. The two accounts may be reconciled by assuming this incursion to have commenced in the night, and the fires to have begun early in the morning, and to have continued raging throughout Sunday: Sotherton says that Warwick, having, as already mentioned, taken every precaution to secure Bishop's Gate, and then partaken at Mr. Steward's of "a Cawdell drinking for a quarter of an hower, returned agen to apoynt the watch till x of the clocke," and that "about this tyme the Rebellis attried⁴ to enter about Conforth⁵ and certeyne coming over the water did set dyvers howses in South Confort on fire, where was burnid a whole parish or too⁶ on both sides the waye⁷ with much corne and marchantries and stuffe," stored up at the Common Staith, "and would have gon further had they not bin expulsid, for they ment to burne the whole Cittye. Notwithstanding, the fire was suffrid to burne to the end, for that it was suspected that their firing thereof was only to bring y^e Company to quench it whylst they, the Rebellis, might attempt the like in another place or ells enter to doe further mischeefe."⁸

A fearful and trying day must this Sunday have been: a great fire raging in King Street; numbers of the insurgents committing what havoc they pleased, in this part of the City; while in the neighbourhood of Bishop Bridge immense numbers were watching for an

¹ *I. e.* out of the city at this particular part, but not out of the rest of it, as will be seen immediately.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ Wood's Translation.

⁴ *I. e.* "tried."

⁵ Conisford Street, which gave the name to Conisford Great Ward, is now called King Street.

⁶ *I. e.* "two."

⁷ *I. e.* "street," now King Street.

⁸ Nicholas Sotherton.

opportunity to force an entrance. But no account of the day's fighting has come down to us, though Sotherton's word "expulsid," and the fact that the fire was restricted to the neighbourhood of the Common Staith, lead to the conclusion that the insurgents were confined to this quarter, and in the end compelled to withdraw. Some attempt, to judge by the following from the City Chamberlain's Accompts {see also Appendix (I), City Chamb. Acc. p. 305*b*}, was made to check this fire :

p. 304. "Item to ij men y^t caryed the Cyte crome¹ to } — „ — „ iij"
the comon Stathe whan y^t was on ffyer

When these things befel the citizens, so "great astonishment and sorrow strooke many men's mindes," that "languishing through despaire and feare, they almost faynted, now devoide of all counsell."² They came to Warwick, and as the City was so large, and all the gates³ either broken open or burnt down; while the number of his men was but few, and the power of the enemy great, and not to be resisted, therefore, they humbly besought him, "to consult his own safety, to leave the City, and not suffer the matter to be brought to utter extremity:" or, to use Sotherton's words, "The best [of the citizens] advised [him] to depart til further puissance,"—a statement that shows plainly how mistaken Somerset was in thinking, or at least asserting, as we have just found him doing, that they were "dalie shrinking fast awaie." Warwick being a man of great and invincible courage, valiant, and mighty in arms, and one that thought scorn of the least infamy, replied, "What, are ye so soone dismaid? and is so great a mist on the sudden come over your mindes, which hath taken away the edge of your courage, that you would either desire this thing, or think it can come to passe while I am alive, that I should forsake the City? I will first suffer fire, sword, finally, all extremity, before I will bring such a stayne of infamy and shame, either upon my selfe or you:"² or, more briefly, he "valiantly answerid by God's grace not

¹ A large ponderous crome or hook on a long stout shaft, used for pulling down a house when on fire, to prevent the flames spreading to other buildings.

² Wood's Translation.

³ See City Chamberlain's Accompts, Appendix (I).

to depart the Cittye, but would deliver it or leave his life."¹ With these words he drew his sword, as did also the rest of the nobles, who were all there gathered together, and "commanded after a warlike manner (and as is usually done in greatest danger), that they should kiss one another's sword, making the signe of the holy crosse, and by an oath, and solemne promise by word of mouth, every man to binde himselfe to other, not to depart from the City before they had utterly banished the enemie, or else fighting manfully had bestowed their lives cheerfully for the King's Majestie."²

While these things were taking place, "where least was thought began dyvers Rebellists to enter the Cittie in the furdest³ parte whoe wer cum as far as the bridges,"¹ where they were speedily encountered by our men, and with many killed and wounded, were driven back again.

Hereupon Warwick, the better to hinder the rebels altogether from entering the City, commanded the bridge "callyd the Whyt Fryars bridge" to be "broken clene up, and soe" would the rest have been "had not bin reasonable cawse shewid."¹ Certain citizens dwelling near it, subsequently rebuilt this bridge at their sole expense, with the exception of the following :

"Itm the Chargis for makyng ageyn the whyte ffryers brydge was payd by certan Inhabytants dwellyng nere ther, but p^d to Wyllm Spratte for all chargis of plankys nayles and workemanshype of plancheryng⁴ of the same brydge⁵	}	— „ vj „ viij
---	---	---------------

"Itm for makyng of the Whyte ffryars Brydge⁶	}	— „ xl „ — "
--	---	--------------

"After this, because many souldiours had not bin lodgid nor howsid a good space, was every man's howse appoyntid to receive a company, the better to make them harty;" and before they went "to theyr beds," they "had victuals furnished, which encouragid them much: then did every man take furth⁷ his stuffe and other things before hydden in placis, to defend fier,⁸ to minister [to] the nedis⁹ of theis men. And now, for that the Lord Lieuutenant had taken up

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

² Wood's Translation.

³ *I. e.* "furthest."

⁴ *I. e.* "laying with planks."

⁵ City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 309.

⁶ *Id.* p. 312*b*.

⁷ *I. e.* "bring forth."

⁸ *I. e.* "to ward off fire," or defend them from fire.

⁹ *I. e.* "needs" or "wants."

Mr. Awsten Stewards howse and sett his arms on the gate, did other Lords and Squires and Gentlemen the like, and for the tyme tooke each mans howse as there owne till theyr departure, when for joy of the Victory every man set up the ragged staffe uppon theyr gates and doores in the Lord Lieutenants honour, which soe continued many years after : and soe savely¹ continued that daye."²

"And all places else" were carefully guarded, "and especially the gates (because for the most part they were all either broken downe, or else fired)," which "were delivered in charge to men of courage, and experienced in warlike affairs, to bee defended upon every sudden occasion, whereby it came to pass, that all the desperate and night incursions of the enemy were voide and of none effect,"³ and the City continued safe till Monday, the xxvjth of August, when "the Lord Lieutenant being at dinner, cam about x or xj hundred Lance Knights, which after they had discharged their peeces to shew theyr cominge, were allsoe lodgid in divers howsis, with many of their wives that came with them;"² the troops and citizens showed their joy, the former by firing many volleys, and the latter by liberally and courteously entertaining them; whose arrival, as it revived the hearts of the soldiers, and stirred them up to a sure hope of accomplishing the matter in hand; so it cast down the hearts of the rebels, who were now confounded and terrified with new fears, and looked upon their future overthrow as probable, if not certain.

In the mean time, the insurgents, influenced by what had occurred on Northampton's coming, thought their best chance of success lay in assailing Warwick's army as speedily as possible, before their own forces became diminished by desertions. "And surely, as they forsooke the good and mighty God; so againe, being despised and rejected of him, they gave over themselves bond-slaves to the devill; who, bewitching their mindes with an old wife's superstition, brought it to passe, that being intangled with the blind illusions of soothsayers, they chose a certayne vally, not farre off, as appointed to this warre by destinie; although surely (as is recorded) there wanted

¹ *I. e.* "safely."

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ Wood's Translation.

not strange and evident tokens of God's heavy displeasure against them: for a snake leaping out of a rotten tree, did spring directly into the bosome of Kett's wife; which thing stroke not so much the hearts of many with an horrible feare, as it filled Kett himselfe with doubtfull cares."¹

If, however, there were omens to terrify, there were also prophecies to encourage them; in this time of perplexity, when they were anxiously "devizing what were best to doe for victory," they fell back on these "fayned prophecies which were phantastically devisid,"² but still exercising wondrous influence over that vast multitude. The language in which they were couched might be obscure, as in the one recorded at p. 6; or the words might be homely and the promise contained in them be as ambiguous as those uttered by older and more famous soothsayers; still there was a charm, and mystery, a mighty power in them; and often had the rebels caused them "to bee openly proclaimid in the markit and other placis,"² as matters of greate tryall,"³ or as proofs that their enterprise must prosper; as the foundation on which they were building, and on which they would have others rest, their hope of ultimate success. With these they encouraged one another, "often speaking of them, for false prophets almost every houre instilled such fopperies⁴ into their eares;"¹ with these their souls were roused to the highest fury, and elated with the most extravagant joy and gladness; for these held out to them, as they fondly believed, the assurance of victory for themselves, and utter destruction to their opponents. The following were those which had, especially, this power:

"The country gnoffes,⁵ Hob, Dick, and Hick,
With clubbes and clouted shoon⁶
Shall fill the vale
Of Dussinsdale
With slaughter'd bodies soon."

¹ Wood's Translation.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ For this use of the word "tryall," see p. 44, where the Lady Mary says she "trusts her household should try," or prove, "themselves true subjects to the King's majesty."

⁴ "Ineptias."—*Neville*.

⁵ *I. e.* "churls," "fools."—*E. Phillips's World of Words*.

⁶ See p. 5.

While another was—

“The heedless men within the dale
Shall there be slain both great and small.”¹

“Such was their preposterous stupidity, in applying these equivocating prophecies to their delusion, that, believing Dussin's dale must make a large and soft pillow for death to rest on, and vainly apprehending themselves the upholsterers to make, who proved only the stuffing to fill the same;”¹ they, being fed with this vain belief, determined to forsake the hill they had hitherto occupied, so advantageously for themselves, and so greatly to the injury of others, and where, too, the Earl's horsemen would not have been able to act against them. There was this additional circumstance which had also no little weight with them: Warwick “had so stopped up the passages that no victuals could come to their Camp, and the want thereof began already to pinch them.”¹ “Therefore all their dennes and lurking places every where, which they had made on moushold of tymber and other provision, were now set on fire, and the smoke rising from so many places, distant one from another, seemed to bring night almost upon the whole skeyes,² and covered the plaines with thick darknesse.”³ The Camp, on Monday, August 26th, was broken up,⁴ and with “twenty ancients and enseignes of warre”³ they marched to Dussin's dale,⁵ the battle-field they had accepted at the mouth of their prophets; and all that day and night were they occupied in removing “their ordinance and munition and all other

¹ Blomefield's Norfolk.

² *I. e.* “skies.”

³ Wood's Translation. “Cum vexillis ac signis militaribus viginti perrexerunt.”—*Neville*.

⁴ “Th' erle of Warwic * * entred into the towne of Norwich, wich having wone it was so weke that he cold scarcely defend it, and oftentimes the rebels came into the stretis killing divers of his mene, and ware repulsed again, ye [*i. e.* yea] and the townesmen were gieven to mischief themselfis. So having endured ther assaultis three dayes and stoped there vitales, the rebels were constrained for lake [*i. e.* lack] of meat to remove.”—*Edward VIth's Journal*.

⁵ It is conjectured by the Rev. A. P. Stanley, in his interesting paper “On the part taken by Norfolk and Suffolk in the Reformation” (*Archæol. Inst.* 1847), that this is the valley commonly called Ossian's Vale.

things clene from that place they were in before, and devysed trenches and stakes wherein they and theyrs were intrenched, and set up greate bulwarks of defence before and abowte, placid their ordinance all about them,"¹ dug a ditch across the highway, and "cut off all passage, pitching their javelins and stakes in the ground before them:"² and "that the Gentylnen, the pryseners,³ shuld not escape, they toke them owte of theyr prysons in Surry place, and carried them to the seid Dussens dale with them, which was not past a mile of⁴ and somewhat more."¹

When Warwick had "intelligence" of this "by y^e watch in Christ Church steeple,"¹ he also determined to try the fortune of war, that he might, if possible, subdue by force those whom by lenity and patience he could not persuade to accept his offers of pardon. Therefore the day following, Tuesday, August 27th, "with 1000 almaines and al his horsemen, leaving th'english footmen in the towne,"⁵ he marched against them through Coslany, or St. Martin's at Oak Gate, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton, Lords Willoughby, Grey of Powis, Bray, Ambrose Dudley, Warwick's son, and "besides of noble and valiant men a choise company."²

Before they arrived in sight of the enemy, Warwick sent Sir Edmund Knyvet, Sir Thomas Palmer, and two others with them, to inquire "whether they would leave off their furies, and forsake their wickednesse, crueltie, and purpose of making warre against their countrie now at the last; for so great and incredible was the goodnesse and clemency of the King's Majestie, that although with an impietie (never to be forgotten) they had abused his Majestie and dignitie, and stained themselves with everlasting notes of villanie, yet he had commanded once again to bee offered unto them peace and pardon (notwithstanding all that they had committed), yea, to every of them (one or two excepted) so as they would turne to dutie now at the last (being ledde with repentance) from this course of malice and wickednesse; but if they purposed peevishly and ungodly to persist in their madnesse, and to trie the end, now let them know, there was come at

¹ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁴ *I. e.* "off."

² Wood's Translation.

³ *I. e.* "prisoners."

⁵ Edward Sixth's Journal.

the last the just punishment of their foolish lightnesse and disloyaltie ; and Warwicke himselfe, although late, yet the sure revenger of so horrible a conspiracie." ¹

Hereunto they all stoutly made one answer—"That they would not." ¹

Warwick, having received this reply, briefly exhorted his soldiers, who are described as having been very eager for the fray, "That they should valiantly invade the enemy, and cast no doubts, but repute and take the company of rebels which they saw, not for men, but bruit beasts, indued with all crueltie. Neither let them suppose, that they were come out to fight, but to take punishment, and should speedily require it at the hands of these most ungratious robbers ; that they should lay even with the ground, afflict, punish, and utterly root out the baine of their country, the overthrow of Christian religion and dutie. Finally, most cruell beasts, and striving against the King's Majestie, with an irrecoverable madnesse." ¹

When he had thus spoken, because the enemy were near at hand, he gave the signal for battle ; but they, perceiving the troops coming against them, so disposed their company, as to place in the front rank all the gentlemen, whom they had carried with them, after the manner of condemned persons, chained together and bound with fetters. This they did in order that they might be slain by Warwick's men ; but through the courage of the soldiers, it turned out otherwise than they had anticipated, so that they almost all escaped safe ; for Myles, Kett's master gunner, and one very skilful in that art, having with an iron bullet struck the King's standard-bearer through the thigh, and the horse he rode on through the shoulder, so that both died with the same shot ; the soldiers, being much grieved, and at the same time excited by this loss, discharged their pieces with such a terrible volley of shot, that it brake their ranks, and threw them into such confusion as enabled the gentlemen, who were in the front of the battle, to fly and escape the storm that was raging around them. When the horsemen perceived the rebels thus scattered and put to

¹ Wood's Translation.

flight "with the often shot of the gunners and harquebusiers," they, suddenly and "with all their troops, charged; whereupon, instead of abiding the encounter, they like sheep confusedly ran away headlong, as quickly as they could. But through the noise and cry of our men following, even now in the last obstinacy of treason, when their fierce and boyling mindes had taken up, I wot not what secret flames of hatred and grieve (as wilde beasts) being turned from their desperation, and remembrance of their villanies, into rage and madnesse; (returning speedily from their flight) they with deadly obstinacy withstood our men a little while; such, however, was the force of the shot, and the eagerness of our men to rush upon them (for like unbridled horses, being greedy of the victory, they broke into the host of the enemy), that Kett's army being beaten downe, and overthrowne on every side (with the hot assault) were almost with no labour driven from their standing."¹

It was a trying time for Kett: the good discipline of the troops that had come against him; the large number of the Earl's forces; and the conviction that must have forced itself upon his mind, that his own disorderly followers could not hope to prevail, or that if they did, other and still better troops would undoubtedly be found by the King and his Council: all these, as he looked around, as the battle raged yet more and more fiercely, as the shouts of the victorious troops burst upon his ear, and his followers were fleeing on every side, led him, being "joynd with v or vj Rebellis," to flee himself:—and bitter are the words of Nevylle as he describes this want of courage on the part of Kett: "As he had been a bold leader in wickedness, so he showed himself a cowardly commander on the battle field: for when he saw every thing going against him; the ranks broken; his men driven asunder; whilst our forces were fiercely bearing down upon them; that there was no hope either of safety or aid; being perplexed in mind, and agitated by the consciousness of his exceeding villany; betaking himself to flight, he secretly fled from the battle field." As soon as this became known, the

¹ Wood's Translation.

spirit of the rebels was broken ; they "fainted and waxed colde."¹ At first they murmured and secretly complained ; then they cried out ; and at last they began to run away on every side. Our horsemen followed swiftly, and made a great slaughter, for there were slain about three thousand and five hundred, and a great many wounded.² The rebels perceiving this, and believing all hope of pardon to be utterly taken away, waxing bold, they urged on one another, in that hour of despair, to die boldly, as die they must. With obstinate courage they presently recovered themselves by companies from their flight, and showed plainly they intended to renew the battle, affirming "That they had rather die manfully in fight, than flying, to be slain like sheep."¹ "After, when they had furnished themselves with swords and other weapons, which lay scattered upon the ground, every where among the heapes of the dead bodies ; had pitched in the ground before them speares, javelins, and sharpe stakes ; and so arranged their carts and carriages as to form a secure and excellent barricade ; they swore, either to other, to spend in that place their lives manfully, or else at the length to get the victory. Therefore, when they had drunke either to other (for that was in signe of good lucke, and of their mindes vowed to death), with prayers and vowes, made after a solemne manner, they fortified themselves to the battell. Warwick, understanding this, sent a Herald, willing them to lay downe their weapons, which if they would yet do, they should escape unpunished : if otherwise, they should all of them, even to the last man, perish. They answered againe, 'That they would willingly lay down their weapons, if they were perswaded that that promise of impunity would prove for their safety ; but they had had already experience of their cruelty upon their companions, which was to them an undoubted signe, as they firmly believed, that this mention of pardon, deceitfully offered by the nobles, was made only in order that they, being by a false and vain hope of mercy (as by snares) circumvented and over-

¹ Wood's Translation.

² Warwick "overcam them in plaine battaile, killing 2000 of them."—*Edward VI.th's Journal*.

come, should all at the last be led to torture and death. And that in truth, whatsoever might be pretended, they knew well and perceived this pardon to bee nothing else but a cask full of ropes and halters, and therefore die they would.'"¹

This answer being returned, Warwick is reported to have been grieved at the thought of so many perishing, and, under the influence of compassion towards them, he sent again to inquire, whether, if he came himself and gave his promise before their faces, they would then lay down their weapons. They all answered, "If that were done, they would beleeve, and resign themselves to the will and authority of the King."¹

Whereupon, without delay, Warwick went to them, and commanded the herald openly to read the King's commission; which being read (because therein pardon was most solemnly promised to all), trusting to it, they laid down their weapons every man, and all of them, as with one mouth, thankfully cried, "God save King Edward! God save King Edward!" And thus many men (as it were taken out of the jaws of death) were saved by the wisdom and compassion of Warwick.¹

The battle² having ended at "about 4 of y^e clocke,"³ all the prey the same day was given to the soldiers, and openly sold in Norwich market by them, and they "made good peniworths thereof in y^e Cittye."³ The following items relate to this battle:—

"Item p ^d for ij barrelle bere dranke at the Crosse in the market amongst the Soldyers as they came home out of the feld afr that y ^t was wonne	}	— „ xij „ —
"Item p ^d for fechyng of an yron gon to the Guyldhalle which y ^e accountant fownde	}	— „ ij „ —
"in the Barly w ^t out Seynt Awstens gats y ^e next day afr the feld, which in the nyght afr he causyd to be conveyd into a berne tyll afr Myhelmas, and for howse rome and paynes y ⁿ p ^d 4	}	— „ — „ xij "

¹ Taken chiefly from Wood's Translation.

² For Somerset's account of this battle see Appendix (T).

³ Nicholas Sotherton.

⁴ City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 304.

In this battle many gentlemen and some of the chief inhabitants of the City were slain, although they had given money and large presents to the soldiers to spare their lives : the following names have been preserved :—

S. Peter's Mancroft.

"1549. Robert Knyvet Gent. Son and heir of Charles Knyvet, slayne at Kett's Campe.

John Woods, Gent. Will. Haydon, Gent. Rice Griffin Esq. George Wagat of Northamptonshire. Rob. Madat of Hartfordshire, Sir Tho. Woodhouse, Priest. Morgain Corbet, Gent. all slain in Ket's Insurrection and buried here."¹

St. Martin's at Palace.

"Anno Dñi 1549.—This yere was the Comoçon in Norf^k.

Mr. George Hastings sepultus 26 Augusti.

Quidam geñosus² eodem die sepultus.

Thre of Capten druries gonners were buried the same daye.

Six men were buried the same daye in Mr. Spencer's gardens."³

St. Simon and St. Jude.—Register of Burials.

"Henry Wylby, of Middilton Hall in the County of Warwick, Esquier.

Gyles Ffoster, of Temple Balsall, in the same county, Esq.

Thomas Lynsye⁴ of Charlcote in the same county, Esq.

Hu, son of⁵ besyde Northampton Esq.

These 4 esquiers were slayne in the Kings army on Mushould heath, the Tewesday being the xxvijth day of August 1549 An^o tertio Edwardi Sexti, and weare all Buryed in the Chancell of this Church in one Grave."

¹ Blomefield's Hist. of Norwich. The register of these is no longer extant.

² This may be Henry Willoughby, Esq., of Willoughby, in Nottinghamshire, who is spoken of very highly by Holinshed.

³ I am indebted to the Rev. Alex. Braddell, Incumbent, for this interesting extract.

⁴ Probably "Lucy of Charlcot."

⁵ I would venture to suggest "George Wagat," who is mentioned above by Blomefield as coming from Northamptonshire.

We have seen that Kett fled from the field of battle : on reaching Swannington, about eight miles from Norwich, "his horse was" so "tirid," that "hee" was "forcid to take" refuge in "a barne, where was a Cart with Corne unlading:" from hence he "was browt to the howse of one Mr. Riches of that towne," and "though hee was left with a childe in the howse vij or viij years old," he "had not the spirit to depart whyles Mrs. Riches was fetched from church, whome though shee ratid for his demeanor, yeat did hee pray hir of contentation,¹ and to have meate: y^e next morning about iiij of y^e Clocke hee was browte to the Lord Lieuetenants lodging, with such as were sent for him."² Such is one description; another is: "Presently there were sent twenty horsemen for him, who finding him there in his wretchedness, lying lamenting and howling, pale for fear, doubting and despairing of life, arrested, and brought him bound to Norwich:"³ an account that may be fairly considered as setting forth Nevylle's hostility to Kett, rather than the actual condition of the fallen leader of the "pore comons."

The same day, August 28th, "began judgment in the Castle, and an inquiry was made of those that had conspired, and many were hanged and suffered grievous death. Afterward nine, which were the ringleaders and principalls, were hanged on the oke called 'The Oke of Reformation;' and many companions with them in these villanies were hanged, and then presently cut downe, and falling upon the earth (these are the judgments of traytors in our countrey), first * * * * then their bowels pulled out alive, and cast into the fire, then their head is cut off, and their bodies quartered: the head set upon a pole and fixed on the tops of the towers of the City, the rest of the body bestowed upon severall places, and set up to the terror of other. But these wilde and rude heads, after this sort being taken away, many of the gentlemen, carryed away with displeasure and desire of revenge, laboured to stirre up the minde of Warwicke to cruelty. Who not contented with the punishment of a few, would have rooted out utterly the off-spring and wicked race of them, and

¹ *I. e.* "prayed her to be content," or quiet.

² Nicholas Sotherton.

³ Nevylle.

were so earnest and eager in it, as they constrayned Warwick to use this speech unto them openly :

“ ‘There must be measure kept, and above all things in punishment men must not exceed. He knew their wickedness to be such as deserved to be grievously punished, and with the severest judgment that might bee. But how farre would they goe? would they ever shew themselves discontented, and never pleased? Would they leave no place for humble petition? none for pardon and mercie? Would they be plowmen themselves, and harrow their owne landes? ’ ”

These speeches restrained the desire of revenge, and led many, that before were fiercely vindictive, afterwards to act kindly and courteously towards the common people. The same night the bodies of the slain were buried,² lest some infection or sickness might be produced by them.

The day after, Aug. 29th, the Earl of Warwick, with all his nobles, and a great company, not only men, but women, of all degrees and ages, went to Saint Peter's Mancroft Church, and there offered up their prayers and praises to Almighty God for the success they had met with; “which being ended,³ he departed the Citie with all his armie;”¹ not however immediately; for, by referring to the City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 304,⁴ it will be found that “my lord of Warwike” remained in the City fourteen days, and, as the following letter shows, during the latter part of this time, was fully occupied in inflicting punishment on the rebels:—

“BROTHER.—You shall vnderstande that my lord of Warwike dothe⁶ execucion of menny men at Norwiche. And the gentlemen crave at his hande the gyft of the rycheess⁷ of them, and doe dayly bring in men by accusacyon. But I have neyther accused anny man, ne yet have asked the gyfte of anny, althowe I am spoyled of MM.

¹ Wood's Translation.

² Most probably near Magdalen Gates, where many human remains have been found, as Goddard Johnson, Esq., informs me.

³ Nevylle.

⁴ Appendix (I).

⁵ State Paper Office—Domestic, Edw. VI. vol. viii. No. 55.

⁶ *I. e.* “doeth.”

⁷ *I. e.* “riches.”

shepe and all my bulloks and horses w^t the moost parte of all my corne in the contrye. All the ordennaunces and spoyle that was taken in the campe is the Kynges. I movid my lord for my ij pecys of brasse but I cannot have them at his handes yet he is verie gentle to me. Raffe Symondes made a greate complaynte of Turcoke to my lord, and yet he was in the campe but ij dayes in the begynnyng, and then went to Newcastle and came not home agen tyll the battail was done. Notwithstandinge the sheryfe seased all his goodes, and yf I had not made earnest sute to my lord, he had lost his goodes and ben in daunger of deathe. I pray you wright¹ vnto me if you thinke it mete that I cum uppe. Ther is a Commyssion com downe of Oyer determynate; we have menny prysoners at Yarmouth. Ther is in the Commyssion my lord Willoughby, my lord Wentworthe, S^r Edmond Wyndham, S^r John Clere, w^t other gentlemen, and yet I am left owte. Yet ther be in my chardge at Yarmouth^{xx}_{vii} or^{xx}_{viii}² prysoners, and they shall syt vppon the deliverie of them. You may tell my lord great Mr.³ that I thinke it not mete that others which were not in seruice at the takyng of them shuld have the ordre of deliverie, and I lefte owte. I am sewer that Danyell declared to you the trothe of all thinges in takyng of the prysoners, for if Gilliste had not ben there w^t thoy⁴ men that came from London, ther had but few prysoners ben taken. And because I was so venturous to go owte when others kepte w^tin the gates, the Ruffyns⁵ of the towne writ a lre⁶ to S^r Thomas Clere that if he kept my company he shuld be in daunger of his lyffe, ffor they were determynid to kyll me w^t halffe hakes,⁷ and the baliffe more. This was on the Munday⁸ when they thought my lord of Warwike had ben over throwne. I pray you speake w^t M^r Cecill, that when enny Commyssion or lres⁹ be sent downe for

¹ *I. e.* "write."

² *I. e.* "seven or eight score."

³ The "Lord Steward of the Household" was at this time called, and had been so since the 32nd year of Henry VIII., "Great Master of the Household." The nobleman then holding this office was William, Lord St. John, of Basing, Earl of Wiltshire, and subsequently Marquis of Winchester.

⁴ *I. e.* "those."

⁵ *I. e.* "ruffians."

⁶ *I. e.* "letter."

⁷ "Hand-guns."

⁸ See p. 139. This was most probably just before the arrival of the lance knights.

⁹ *I. e.* "letters."

ordre of thinges here, that I be not forgotten, for then I shall lose my credite in the Contrye. I did speake w^t Mastres Anne Wotton, she is well and lytell herry ¹ is w^t me at my howse. Thus fare ye well ffrom Waxham the iii^e of Septembre.

“ Your loving brother,
“ THOMAS WODHOUS.”

Endorsed—“ To my loving brother Sr Willm Wodhous
Knight at Sir Anthony Auchers besides the Tower
hill in London—hast hast!”

In another letter,² written also to his brother by “ Sir Thomas Wodhouse,” who had now gone from Waxham to Norwich, we find him very anxious “ to have out a commycyon ³ for the Admaralty;” that he, since he had been appointed “ Vysadmyrall ⁴ of Norffolk and Soffolk,” might “ medell with the goodes of them that be ataynted,” and discharge his other duties without let or hindrance; “ for,” he continues, “ the shereves and other men have meddolld ⁵ within my offyce for that I have not hade my warrant for the same. I pray you lett thys be gytt ⁶ out and sent down with delygents.⁷ Ther be ij gonnars ⁸ in Lastoffe, * * * one of” whom “ was araynte ⁹ traytor: they lost all ther ordinance to the traytors,¹⁰ and we wane yt agyne¹¹ at Yarmowth. Thus I bed you ffar well. ffrome Norwyche thys v daye of September 1549.”

While those in authority were thus occupied, the citizens, being filled with gladness at “ theis traiterous mutinies and rebellion having now an ende,”¹² scarcely knew how to praise Warwick sufficiently: they “ extolled him with commendations to the Heavens; they spake all manner good of him; and, with clapping of hands, joy and thankfulness, renowned with most excellent speeches the fame of so worthy a captaine, and the memorie of so great courage; and attributed to his wisdome and good successe the preservation

¹ *I. e.* “ Harry.” ² State Paper Office—Domestic, Edw. VI. vol. viii. No. 55, II.

³ *I. e.* “ commission.” ⁴ See note, p. 47. ⁵ *I. e.* “ meddled,” or “ interfered.”

⁶ *I. e.* “ got”: “ let this be got out.” ⁷ *I. e.* “ diligence.” ⁸ *I. e.* “ gunners.”

⁹ *I. e.* “ arrant,”—an arrant traitor. ¹⁰ See p. 110. ¹¹ *I. e.* “ we won it again.”

¹² Somerset to Sir P. Hoby, Appendix (T).

of their lives, their wives and children, finally all their goods and possessions."¹

One way in which they showed their gratitude was by "setting up the ragged staffe" at the City Gates, as appears from the following:²—

"Itm to Gabryell the peynter for newe refreshyng of a
tabyll of the Kyngs armys and newe peyntyng and
guyldyng ano^r tabyll w^t the Kyngs armys y^t before
hade St. Georges armys, and for setting up the
ragged staffe³ in sylver paper at all the Gats of the
Cyte

— „ vij „ —

"Itm for setting up the sayd ij tabylls at Westwike and
Seynt Stephyns Gats.....

} — „ — „ viij "

which gave, however, great offence to certain of the citizens, who thought it "not mete to have any more kyngs than one." Another way in which they gave expression to their thankfulness was by decreeing "(for the eternall note and ignominie of those times) that upon the same day wherein the enemies were discomfited and put to flight, all men should repaire to their churches and make prayers unto Almighty God, with the ministers of the congregations, every yeere, by a solemne custome established."⁴ The following enactment was made subsequently by the City :

"Be it remembred, that by the poure of Allmightie God, and of our sovereign Lord the King's Majestie that now is Kyng Edward the Syxte. In sending down the noble Earle of Warwike his Graces Lyeuteñant w^t other nobill, and men of worshipp, w^t his majesties power unto this worshipfull Citie, and by the goodness of God uppon the xxvij daye of August in the Yere of our Lord God a thousand fyve hundreth fourty and nyne The seide Earle with the Kings Ma^{ties} power uppon Mushold-Hethe vanequyshed Robert Kette, and his hool nombre of Adherents of their most wikked Rebellion, and did

¹ Wood's Translation.

² City Chamberlain's Accompts, p. 306.

³ An inn in Fisher's Lane, St. Giles', Norwich, has the sign of the Bear and Ragged Staff, of which badge or cognisance a very interesting representation exists in the Beauchamp Tower, Tower of London, cut in stone by Warwick himself, or by one of his sons.

⁴ Wood's Translation.

suppresse them, and Delivered this Citie from the greate Daunger, trouble and perill it was in like to have been lost for ever. Wherefore and in consideration of that greate Victorie by the goode advyce of the lord Thomas¹ nowe Bisshopp of Norwich, w^t the assent of the Mayor shereves and comen Counsaill in this present Assembly; It is ordeyned, enacted, and thought good, that from hensfurth for ever, uppon the xxvij day of August yerely for the benefyte that was obteyned for our delyverance that same daye, The Mayor for the tyme beinge shall comande his officers the daye before to charge all the constables of every Warde that they shall gyve warning to every inhabitant wⁱⁿ ther wardes to spere² and shutte in their Shoppes, and that both man, woman, and child, Repayre to their Parisshe church after they have Rong in, at the houres of Seven of the Clokke in the morninge, and there to Remayn in supplicacon and prayers to God, hering the devyne service of the Church that shalbe there song or sayed, and to gyve humble thanks to God, and praye for the preservacon of the Kings Majestie hartely, ffor the deliverance of this Citie from the great perill and daunger it was in; And to have the same daye allwayes in our Remembrances for ever, and the servyce once doone, that every parisshe Ring a Solempne peall w^t all there Bells, to the laude and prayse of God, and the great rejoysing of the peopull for ever, and so to departe every man to his occupacion or other busines.

“God save the King.

“xxvj die Mensis Septembre A^o R R Ed vj Quarto.”³

This being “received for a law, they decreed moreover that a sermon should be made at the common place,⁴ to which all the citizens should resort; which ordinance, from such beginning hath continued untill this day.”⁵ The following extracts show that this custom continued for a long time; that, more than a hundred years

¹ Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich from 1550 to 1554.

² *I. e.* “secure.”

³ E Lib. Civ.; or, from “The City Book.”

⁴ Nevylle's words are, “Concionem in publico fieri,”—“that a sermon be preached in public.”

⁵ *I. e.* till 1575.—*Nevylle.*

Willoughby;" and to others employed "against the Rebelles in Norff." The following letter shows that there was some remissness in paying the demands of one, viz. Captain Drury, whose services had been of the greatest importance in suppressing the Rebellion:

"WARWICK TO CECILL.

"This shalbe to desyer you to be an Intercessour to my lordes grace that this berer, Thomas Drury, Capitayne of ^{xx}_{ix}¹ fotemen serving the Kynges Ma^{tie} against the Rebelles in Norffolk for the space of too² monethes, that ys to saye from the fyrst daye the marques of Northampton tooke his iourney into Norffolk vntyll this present, except three score w^{ch} were kylled at the battel and other skyrmyshes there. for the which nomber of three score he dothe demande nothinge syns³ the xxviith of August hytherto. requyring you to helpe that this said berer may have brefe depeche,⁴ and that his bande be spedly employed or caysed.⁵ Thus mooste hertely fare ye well.

"At Ely Place this xiiiith of Septembre, 1549.

"Your assured frend

"J. WARWIKE."

Endorsed—"To my veray loving ffrend
Sr W^m Cecille this be delivered wth
spede at the Courte." ⁶

Warwick's request was not, however, complied with immediately; and more than a month elapsed before the following warrant was issued:

"xxi Octr. Warrant to Henry Saxey and Ffrances Foxall mercers, for delyvery of cclxxij^{li} v^s to Sir Thomas Chaloner to be by him payd over to Captⁿ Drury." ⁷

But while the various lords, knights, and gentlemen, were busily occupied in receiving the pay they required for their troops; or the remuneration to which their own services had entitled them; the Leader, whom thousands had obeyed,—the Advocate, who had asserted

¹ *I. e.* "nine score."

² *I. e.* "two months."

³ *I. e.* "since."

⁴ *I. e.* "despatch."

⁵ *I. e.* "cassé," "discharged," or "broken."

⁶ State Paper Office—Domestic, Edward VI. vol. viii. No. 59.

⁷ Privy Council Register, Edward VI. vol. ii. p. 20.

the rights of the "pore commons,"—the Standard-bearer, round whom so vast a multitude had gathered, ready to follow him even to death,—Kett was at this time lying in the Tower, awaiting his trial,—a form, a mere form, as he must have felt it to be, through which he would have to pass, before suffering the extreme penalty of the law.

The following documents, relating to the trial of the Ketts, are still in existence :—

I.—The Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer,¹ addressed to Richard Lyster, Knight; Edward Mountagu, Knight; Roger Cholmeley, Knight; Edmund Mervyn, Knight; William Portman, Knight; or any four of them: for the trial, according to the Statute of Treasons (25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 2), of all high treasons, &c., committed by Robert and William Kette, alias Knight, as well in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, &c., as in the county of Middlesex: who, having been examined before Edward North, Knight; John Baker, Knight; and Richard Southwell, Knight; three of the King's Council, are vehemently suspected of high treason, as appears by the certificate of the said three Privy Councillors returned into Chancery.

II.—The Justices' Precept to the Sheriff for the return of the Grand Jury at Westminster, on the Tuesday next after the Quinzaine of St. Martin;² with

III.—The Panel³ annexed.

IV.—The Justices' Precept⁴ to the Constable of the Tower, Sir John Gage, commanding him to bring up the bodies of Robert and William Kette at Westminster, on the above-mentioned Tuesday: this is signed by Sir Richard Lyster.

V.—The Indictment found against Robert Kete,⁵ or Kette, otherwise Robert Knight, late of Wyndham, Norfolk, tanner.

¹ See Appendix (U).

² November 11th. As this, in 1549, fell on Monday, the day fixed for the trial was November 26th.

³ See Appendix (V).

⁴ See Appendix (W).

⁵ See Appendix (X).

VI.—The Indictment found against William Kete,¹ or Kette, otherwise William Knight, late of Wyndham, Norfolk, mercer.²

Also, the Record of this Session, which contains the Special Commission, the Justices' Precept to the Sheriffs, the Indictments against each of the Ketts, their plea of Guilty, and the sentence passed upon them.

From the first of the above documents we learn the names of the judges; from the second, third, and fourth, the names of the jury, the day of trial, and where the Ketts were confined, viz., in the Tower; the fifth enters very fully into the charge against Robert Kett, and states that for six weeks after the 20th of July he had, on "Mushold hethē" and in divers other places in Norfolk, with more than twenty thousand followers, gathered together, "by means of traitorous proclamations, hue and cry, and the ringing of bells," made an insurrection, and levied war against the King; that he had caused bills to be written as well to incite his Majesty's lieges to make war against the King, as also to spoil and rob them; that he and his associates had imprisoned for a long time, in Mount Surrey, many knights and gentlemen of Norfolk, "shouting out these words in English,—Kyll the Gentlemen;" that they had not only plundered very many of their goods and cattle, but also, in open war, had killed very many faithful subjects of the King, at "Dussingdale in the Parishes of Thorpe and Sprowston;" that he had fled from the field of battle to Cawston;³ and that he had been there taken and arrested by the King's lieges.

While the sixth in like manner states that William Kett, "not having God before his eyes," endeavouring to get up a rebellion, had on the 16th of August and two following days, at Mount Surrey, in conjunction with Robert Kett and others, made an insurrection, with "banners unfurled, swords, shields, clubs, cannon, halberts, lances,

¹ See Appendix (Y).

² It is possible William Kett may have been both a butcher and a mercer: just as Fulke, who killed Lord Sheffield, is stated by Holinshed to have been both a carpenter and butcher.

³ Or rather "Swannington."

bows, arrows, breast-plates, coats of mail, and other arms, offensive and defensive;" and "further, that William Kett, on the 20th of August, gave to the same Robert Kett and the other said traitors comfort, help and counsel in their traitorous and wicked purposes." This mention of a date makes it difficult to determine the especial occasion on which he had acted thus. Had it been July 31st or August 1st, the following from Holinshed would have been a sufficient explanation: he says: "It was generally thought William Kett would have been certain of pardon," (to which, or at least some slighter punishment than death, he was fairly entitled, he having done but little in these commotions), "if he had not played the part of traitorous hypocrite: for, upon his submission at first to the Marquis of Northampton,¹ he was sent back to his brother, to persuade him and the rest to yield: though he promised to do so, yet, upon his coming into the Camp, and seeing the great multitude about him, he did not only dissuade him from it, but told him the Marquis had but few soldiers with him, and was not able to resist such a force as his: so that, had it not been for him, his brother and all the rest would have accepted the King's pardon, and thus saved all the ensuing mischief and bloodshed." Holinshed might have added, supposing this submission to have been made on Northampton's first expedition against the rebels, that it would also have saved the Marquis the disgrace in which his defeat had involved him.

Such were the charges against them: on being brought to the bar by the Constable of the Tower, and being arraigned, they pleaded GUILTY, and the usual sentence for high treason was passed upon them.²

One notice, and that a very brief one, of these unfortunate men, shows clearly that William was evidently more favourably regarded than Robert Kett, and warrants the belief that he would have

¹ "The Earl of Northampton," Holinshed; but shortly afterwards "the Marquis." It is not clear when William Kett acted thus: if at Northampton's first coming to Norwich, it must have been July 31st; whereas, from the indictment it seems to have been on the 20th of August.

² See Appendix (Z).

escaped capital punishment, had not "the good Duke" been himself in trouble, and a prisoner in the Tower, at this very time:—

"Robt. Kett of Wyndham Norff. Tanner.

"Wyllyam Kett his brother who goithe at Large in the Tower."

This is taken from a List of Prisoners confined in the Tower,¹ Oct. 22nd, 1549; and has "Justice" in a different hand added by the side of each name; implying that they were subsequently executed.

On November 29th,² Robert and William Kett were delivered out of the Tower of London to Sir Edmund Windham, High Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk: they reached Norwich December 1st,³ and the former was confined in the Guildhall till Saturday, December 7th,⁴ when he was "drawn" to the Castle, "and then and there over the walls of the same Castle, in obedience to the King's command, was hanged in chains."⁵ Nevylle's account is: "Robert Kett (at the Castle in Norwich) had chaines put upon him, and with a rope about his necke, was drawne alive from the ground up to the gibbet placed upon the top of the Castle, and there hanged for a continuall memorie of so great villanie, untill that unhappy and heavy body (through putrifaction consuming) shall fall downe at length."⁵

"Keits brother was taken also and perished alike," being hanged at Wymondham on the top of the church tower, or as Stow calls it, "Windham Steeple."

Such was the end of the two brothers; such the issue of their bold attempt to obtain some redress of the many grievances they and others long had felt, and which, becoming at length too grievous to be

¹ State Paper Office—Domestic, Edward VI. vol. ix. 48.

² Stow's Chronicles, p. 235. ³ "Inquisitio post mortem." See Appendix (AA).

⁴ Edward VI. in his Journal says that "Keit their captain in January folowing was hanged at Norwich;" but as the Inquisition, held at the Shirehouse, Norwich, January 13th, 1549, states it to have been December 7th, Appendix (AA), the king is clearly wrong. He says further, that "his head was hanged out," an expression that may mean the sentence was fully executed, and "his head and body having been divided into five parts, that these were set up in various public places." There is, however, no reason for believing the full punishment for high treason was inflicted, but only that he was hanged in chains in the way described by Nevylle.

⁵ Wood's Translation.

borne, had roused them to take up arms for their removal. Short and easy was the method of those days with all such innovators: the hollow form of a trial; the pleading guilty; the accused committing himself to the King's mercy; the imprisonment; the fatal list with "Justice," as if in bitter mockery of the hallowed word, inscribed against each name; the hurried journey; the few days' rest and confinement in the Guildhall; the procession with Kett in the midst "drawn" to the Castle; the rope and gibbet; the raising of his body, whilom King of Norfolk and Suffolk,¹ up those lofty walls, there to hang in chains—"hanged uppe for wynter store;"²—short, indeed, and easy in those days was the method adopted with those who complained of grievances, and sought some remedy for them. Even in that time of harsh severity, it was not, however, so effectual as the rulers expected it to prove: while the fate of these men was as yet undecided, we meet with the following indications of hatred of the gentry, and of sympathy with Kett and with the Lord Protector, who was evidently regarded as the people's friend:—

"21. *Sept.* 3 Edw. VI. Robert Burnam, parish Clerk of St. Gregories said, There are too many Gentlemen in England by fyve hundred.

"30. *Sept.* Will. Mutton, painter, justified his having pulled down the Penthouses of the shops in Norwich saying, That there was much dysceyte³ to buyers from them.

"The said Barnam [or Burnam] being imprisoned, said to Mr. Mayor and the Aldermen, Ye Skrybes and Pharasies, ye seke innocent bloode: but if I can not have justice here I shall have it of better men, and I ask no favor at your hands: for which, at the following assizes, he was adjudged to the pillory, and to have his ears nailed thereto as a fautor⁴ of rebels."

"Edm. Johnson, labourer, being at the late Chapel in the Fields talking with Mr. Chancellor's servants, it chanced that one Bosewell should say, That Robert Kette should be hanged; and the said Johnson said, That it shulde cost a thousande men's lives firste.

"24 *Nov.* Maryone⁵ Lelly, of the Parish of St. Botolph within this City, widow of the Age of liij yeres, sworne and examined, saithe, That one John Rooke came to her House, and one Margaret Sokeling the wief of Nicholas Sokeling w^t him, upon Monday was a sennith last past, at the which time amonges other wordes in communycation

¹ See p. 114.

² The Book of the Mayoralty, 1549, fol. 33.

³ *I. e.* "deceit," an imputation upon the honesty of the Norwich tradesmen.

⁴ *I. e.* "favourer," "aider," or "abettor."

⁵ Probably "Maryann."

betwixte them, the seide John Rooke ded speke thies words followeng, that is to say, Except the mercye of God before Christmas ye shall se¹ as great a Campe uppon Mushold as ever was. And if it be not then it shall be in the spring of the yere, and they shall come out of the lorde Protector's Countreithe² to strenkith³ him.

"The sayeng of one Claxton agreable to the Bill of accusation by Thomas Wolman and Henry Musdred subscribed with their hands. Ffirst he sayd, That he did well in keping in Ketts Campe and so he wold saye; and then I did aske him, What he ded think by Kett; and he sayed, Nothing but well that he knewe; and after that he sayed, He trusted to se¹ a new day for suche men as I was.

" By me THOMAS WOLMAN

" Witness HENRY MUSDRED."⁴

And when the brothers had perished, the old independent spirit of the county still survived; Warwick had excited against himself a hatred that would bide its time, and keenly watch for an opportunity of obtaining revenge. He was too powerful to be assailed himself, but there was his badge, "the Ragged Staff," and this we find soon made an object of attack :

"12 Feb. 4 Edw. VI. George Redman, servant with Mr. Bakon, deposed, That John Redhed on Sondag at nyght beyng the ixth. of Febr. 1549 (*i.e.* 1550 new style) said, He wold that Master Bakon and others, having on their gates the ragged staff, schuld take them down, for ther were that are offendyd therwyth, to the nombre of twentie persons and more : and he said, That the aforesaid ragged staff shuld be plucked down : and that afore it were Lammes daye⁵ next comyng, that Ket shuld be plucked downe from the toppe of the castle; saying also, That it was not mete to have any more kyngs than one."⁴

While the fate of the Ketts—the fearful spectacle alluded to in the following extract—excited a strong feeling of pity towards them, instead of suppressing the people's discontent, it only led them to long the more deeply, and so the more dangerously for the governing powers, for better days and a happier lot, for those social privileges which they felt were their right, but which they had hitherto failed in obtaining :

"John Redhed of St. Martin's parish, worsted weaver, saith, That upon a market day not a month passed, whether it was Wednesday or Saterdag, he certainly knoweth

¹ *I. e.* "see."

² *I. e.* "country."

³ *I. e.* "to strengthen."

⁴ The Book of the Mayoralty, 1549.

⁵ It had been on the previous "Lammes daye," August 1st, that they had gained the battle on St. Martin's Palace Plain.

not, being in the market uppon his busynes, he sawe ij or iij persones, men of the contrithe¹ standing together, and he harde th'one of them speke to th'other, loking uppon Norwich castell towards Kette, thes wordes, viz. Oh! Kette, God have mercye upon thy sowle, and I trust in God, that the Kyng's majesty, and his Counsail shall be informed ones betwixte this and Mydsomer even, that of their own gentylnes thowe shal be taken downe, by the grace of God, and buryed, and not hanged uppe for wynter store, and sette a quyetness in the realme, and the ragged staffe shal be taken down also of their owne gentylnes from the gentylmens gates in this cittie, and to have no more King's arms but one within this cittie under Christ but King Edward the syxe, God save his grace; which persones he saith, he never knew them nor cannot name them.

"26. *Febr.* One said, That 500 of Musholdmen were gon to the gret Turk² and the Doffyn, and will be her agen by Midsomer."³

The Ketts having been executed, the next step taken was to hold an "Inquisitio post mortem"⁴ at the Shirehouse, Norwich, Jan. 13th, before Henry Mynne, Escheator; when it was shown that Robert Kett, Nov. 26th, having pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason, and having been subsequently hanged in chains, was, at his death, seised of the manor of Wymondham, with certain messuages, &c. lately belonging to the Hospital of Burton Lazars, of which he had obtained the grant from the Earl of Warwick on the 27th. of March, in the 37th. year of Henry VIII.; also of the manors of Melior's Hall, and Lethers or Letars, but then called Gunvile's Manor; that the moiety of these manors, &c., had been mortgaged to Richard Colyor for £.200; also that he was seised of two tenements, called Chyllinges and Tyes, in the township of "Cakewik," or "Cake-wik Fild near the Marlepitts;" that Gunvile's Manor was worth £.13 6s. 8d. per ann.; that the manor of Wymondham was worth £.4 per ann.; and that the other messuages were worth 20s. per ann. This account of Robert Kett's property differs, however, in some respects, from that given in the Patent Roll,⁵ which records the grant of his property to Thomas Audeley, who has been already mentioned as having conveyed Kett to London:⁶ in this he is said to have been possessed of the manors of Melior's Hall; Lethers or Leters Hall,

¹ *I. e.* "country."

³ The Book of the Mayoralty.

⁵ See Appendix (BB).

² Solyman II., surnamed the Magnificent.

⁴ See Appendix (AA).

⁶ See p. 156.

now called Gunvile Manor; and all Gunviles Manor; also of Chelynges and Tyes, in the village called "Cakewyke;" also of a piece of arable land in "Cakewyke felde near the Marlepittes," containing one acre: and that the clear annual value of his manors, messuages, &c., amounted to forty marks.

The History would scarcely be complete without the following extract, which shows that the Rebellions in Norfolk, Devon, and Cornwall cost the State no less than £.28,122. 7s. 7d.:—

"The Rebelliones in

The Countis of	Norfolke	The Subvertione of sundrie nom- beres of Rebelles specially within the said counties and in diveres other places of this Realme in the third yeare of our Soveraigne Lorde Kinge Edwarde the VI. that now is.	Cotes and con- dut	6446	12	2	28122 7 7 ¹
	Devon		Diettes and Wages	18827	19	6	
	and		Empciones of necessaries...	47	11	8	
	Cornwall		Diveres and sundry neces- sary charges and expences as breaking doun of Bridges, Car- riages, and Rewardes ...	2800	4	3	

"And in this way the City and all the county of Norfolk, when this deadly plague of treason, to the destruction of many, had continued for about sixty days, and had shaken all things with lamentable ruin, at length enjoyed rest; having, through the goodness of God, and admirable valour of Warwick (that most excellent nobleman), brought to an end these so fatal and woful tumults."²

* * * * *

A few years have passed away: the young King, who had long

¹ Harl. MSS. No. 353, p. 102.

² Nevylle.

been sinking, has breathed his last at Greenwich; the Lady Jane is proclaimed Queen, amidst the ominous silence of the people; Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, is at the head of the troops, ready to use every means for maintaining his daughter-in-law's supposed right to the crown; and the Lady Mary is at Framlingham, asserting her claim to the throne, and actively exerting herself to secure such aid as shall enable her to advance at once upon London. The time has at length arrived, when the people of Norfolk may obtain satisfaction for the injuries received at Warwick's hands; may avenge the execution of the Lord Protector, "the good Duke;" may play an important part in their country's history, and place the rightful sovereign on the throne. And bravely do they come forward: thousands flock around the standard of the Lady Mary, whose promises to defend the laws and liberties of her subjects are readily believed; the fleet off the coast revolts; the Council, being freed from Northumberland's presence, speedily declare for Mary; the Duke in despair repairs to the market-place in Cambridge, proclaims her queen, and is the first to throw up his cap in token of the joy he felt at her obtaining that crown, of which he had done his utmost to deprive her; and Mary becomes the undisputed sovereign of these realms. The powerful John Dudley, all-powerful as he had believed himself to be, is in the hands of his enemies: his pretended zeal for Mary, when he found his attempt unsuccessful,—his defence that he had acted in obedience to the orders of the Council, given under the Great Seal,—all is of no avail: the system he had pursued towards others is adopted against himself; the trial, the plea of Guilty, the sentence, are all quickly passed through; and it was, we may be sure, with feelings of stern gratification,—which, though we cannot approve of, we can readily excuse, as we bear in mind the cruel oppressions of those troublous times,—the people of Norfolk learned that the proud and haughty Northumberland, the determined enemy of the "pore commons," as they regarded him, had been beheaded on Tower Hill.

Such,—to pass by the destruction of Thorpe Wood, the Homily on Rebellion, and the appointment of Lord Lieutenants,¹ all of which

¹ Strype's Mem. Eccles. vol. ii. part I. p. 278.

were connected with "these routs and uproars,"—was one of the great results of Kett's Rebellion, viz., the placing of the Lady Mary on the throne;—a result which, while imparting an additional interest, gives to it also much historical importance: the full consequences of this and similar attempts on the part of the people to obtain their rights did not, however, manifest themselves at once; years, many years, would pass away, and fiercely would the storm of civil commotion rage throughout the land, before the iniquities of the feudal system would be abolished; or the Bill of Rights secure to the subject that liberty which, while it is too often a name, and unhappily nothing more, in the mouths of other people, is by us regarded, not as a privilege that kings may give or withhold at their pleasure, but rather as our inalienable birthright.

the first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This discovery led to a great influx of people to California, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The second was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Colorado, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The third was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Nevada, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union.

The fourth was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Idaho, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The fifth was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Montana, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The sixth was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1869. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Wyoming, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The seventh was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1871. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Utah, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The eighth was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1876. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Arizona, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The ninth was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1878. This discovery led to a great influx of people to New Mexico, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The tenth was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1880. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Texas, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union.

The discovery of gold in these states led to a great influx of people to these states, and the states became one of the most populous in the Union.

APPENDIX.

A.

Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer, 1st Series, No. 247.

“WE desyre and also charge and commande you [and every one of you] apon payn of deith, and for the luf¹ ye bere to [owr holy] faith and churche militaunte, and the maintenaunce therof, the preservacion of the Kynges person, and his isshew² and the common welth, and to the intente to expulse and subdue all vylan blode from the kynges grace, and his privy counsell for the common welth and restoryng of crist churche. And take before you the cross of crist and in your harts his faith, to suppressse all herisey and ther opinions. And that you nor none of you gyf aide or person aperens to the erle of Darbie or any other for hym. Except ye perseve [and] knaw hym or them to be sworne and assuryd for the common welth, and that ye fale³ not alle and every one of you to be on Cliderow more on Munday next after Symon and Jude day in your best aray by ix of the cloke. And they that be xvith. yere of age not to fale. Now good men and ever, and now or never, for God, the kyng, yourself, and all youres hereafter.

“By all the olle concent of the hyrdmen in this our pilgrimage for grace to the common welth.”

Endorsed—“A commandment
to the Commons.”

¹ *I. e.* “love.”

² *I. e.* “issue.”

³ *I. e.* “fail.”

B.

Complayntes at the Insurrection.

* * * Item, we fynde that the Master and Fellows of Jesus College have let ther ferme hollye with all commodities together, and the fermor thereof hathe letten the lande to certeyne persons and severed the dwellynge howse and the shepegate from the lande, so that the howse and shepegate be in divers men handes, and lykewyse the closes be letten from the howse, and the hole is letten for x^{li}. x^s. by yere.

Item, we fynde that a pece of noysom grounde is taken in owte of the common and enclosed with a muddle wall at the ende of Jesus lane, for the whyche the incorporation of the towne is recompensed, but not the hole inhabytauntes of the towne whiche fynde themselves injured.

Item, we fynde that Andrew Lambes close is crofte lande and ought to lye open with the fylde at lamas as common.¹

Item, we fynde that a close that of late was taken in bye baylyff Smythe owte of the common, owght to be layde open and to be common again, as heretofore it hathe beene accustomed, the yerely rent is xxvi^s. viii^d.

Item, we find that Mr. Braken had of the prior and convente of Barnwell a portyon of grounde that before was layd open with the fylde at lamas, and was common arable land, upon the whiche he hathe buylded certeyne howses and shoppes.

Item, we fynde that Mr. Hynde unlawfully dothe bringe into Cambridge felde a flock of shepe to the number of vi or vii Cth, to the undoinge of the fermors and great hyndraunce of all the inhabitauntes of Cambrydge.

Item, we fynde the said Mr. Hynde after the corne be inned and harvest don, bryngeth in his catall in great nombre and eateth uppe the common to like hyndraunce.

Item, we fynde that ther is an howse of husbandrye with xxx acres of lande therunto belonginge, nowe in the tenure of Wylliam Spyrink, decayed and not inhabited, nor hath not bene these ii yeres, for then it was burned, the yerely rent is iii^{li}.

Item, we fynde that Mr. Braken hathe dymysed a lane called fysshores lane, and inclosed the samme whyche of late lay open and was common.

Item, we fynde that Maxwell kepeth a certayne grownde against the castle as common whyche ought to be common.

Item, we fynde that there is an howse decayed and fallen down, lying betwyxt the

¹ At a Common Day on the 12th. of July this year, Maurice Newell granted that Bishop's Close should lie common from Lammas till Lady Day; and Andrew Lambe granted that his close in Barnwell should lie common for the same period yearly. It was also ordered that the Common Balk leading from Trumpington-street unto the Brick Kiln should be laid common as customably it had been used.—*Corporation Common Day-book*.

Greffyn and the whyte Bull, now in the tenure of Mr. Slegge, wherbye the towne in that streete is myche defaced.

Item, we fynde that Trinitie College owght to pave the streete agaynst the gray freers, which of long tyme hath been unpaved, to the great annoyance of the common welthe.

Item, we fynde that Trinitie college hath inclosed a common lane, which was a common course both for cart, horse, and man, leadinge to the ryver, unto a common grene, and no recompense made therefore.

Item, we fynde that Mr. Muryell hathe plowed uppe certayne bawls and carte wayes in the feelde.

Item, we fynde Mr. Bykardyck hath plowed uppe the more parte of a bawlke behind the black freers of vii foote brode, betwyxt Jesus College grownde and Myhell howse grownde, and he hath dyched it in at both endes.

Item, we fynde that he hath eared upp a lyke bawlk in lyk manner, lying betwixt the Kynges hall grownde and Myhell howse grownde.

Item, we fynde also that the sayde Mr. Bykardyck hath taken in and inclosed a por-tyon of the common hyghewayes at both endes of the sayde bawlke.

Item, we fynde there is another bawlke enclosed at both endes and plowed uppe, that leadeth from the forenamed bawlke, dyrectlye crossing the hyghewaye unto Barnwell cawsey and Jesus Grene.

Item, we fynde that the Kynges College hath taken in and inclosed Saynt Austen's lane, leadinge from the high streete unto the waterside, withowte recompense.

Item, we fynde that the Queens College have taken in a pece of common ground commonlye called Goslinge grene withowte recompense.

Item, we fynde that ther is another pece lying withowt their pales and within the ryver that owght to be common.

Item, we fynde that there is a pece of grownde landed at the ende of John Thomas garden, now in the tenure of William Garlande, taken owte of the common ryver, paying therfore to the corporation of the towne, xvi^d.

Item, we fynde that Mr. Fanne hath in his hands a pece of Maris grownde now severalled, which was common within these xvi yeres, the rent is vii^d.

Item, we fynde that Mr. Osborne hath in his hands a lyke pece of Maris grownde, whyche of late was common, the rent wherof is lykewyse yerely vii^d.

Item, we fynde that one pece of common is inclosed now in the handes of Mr. Mores, which hath been accustomed to lye common at Mydsomer.

Item, we fynde one berne now in the tenure of William Bradlye buylded on St. Thomas lease, which was accustomed and owght to lye common at lamas.

Item, we fynde that a ferme howse called cotton hall, now in the tenure of Mr. Fanne, is dekayed and fell downe about xx^{ti} yeres agon, not inhabyted and hath iii^{xx} acres of lande belonginge therunto, and is letton for v^{li}. bye yere.

Item, we fynde that beyonde Styrbrydge chappell, Dytton men have pulled down a brydge, stopped the water, drowned the commons, and so enter upon Cambridge common.

Item, we fynde that Mistress Lacys of Barnwell hathe severed the lande and the shepe gate of her fermes, and that bayley Genings and John Bernes have done the lyke in ther fermes.

Item, we fynde that Mr. Kymbalde hath walled and dyched upon the hyghwaye in Barnwell, wherbye the seyd waye is much straitened. * *

Annals of Cambridge, by C. H. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.

C.

State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. viii. No. 24.

SIR THO. DARCY AND SIR JOHN GATES TO CECILL.

"Gentill Mr. Cicell, you shall understande, we have perused the contentes of the comyssion to us and others directed concernyng decay of houses of husbondry, inclosures, parkes, and divers other articles, aswell¹ in the comyssion as in our instruccions. And we, having therein alreadie travailed, do take it that we cannot by that comyssion redresse the same, and than² for lack of present execucion of thinges that shalbe before us presented, we are partelie in fere lest the peple will thinke we do but onlie delay tyme with them, and thereby perchaunce they may be brought in more rage than before they were. We therefore desire you to move my Lorde his grace and the Counsaile to direct their lettres unto us, auctorising us to commaunde the shreve to pull downe asmoche³ of the kinges parkes and of others as shalbe before us presented worthie the pulling downe. And also to disclose and sett open commons and highe wayes, which before us shalbe likewise presented worthie. And also auctorising us to call bfore us suche persons as shalbe presented to have severed the lond from the house, or that have above the nombre of shepe or fermes, and to order the same by our discessions; without which lettre we ar fullie resolved, that what soever shalbe presented worthie of redresse before us, yet we cannot reforme presentlie any parte thereof, but only to set open highe wayes, which we thinke is contrary to the meanyng

¹ *I. e.* "as well."

² *I. e.* "then."

³ *I. e.* "as much."

of our commyssion and the expectation¹ of the peple and our promys before made unto them. And thus desiring the spedie furtherance therein we bid you most hartelie fare well, ffrom London the xth. of July, 1549.

“ Your Loving ffrindes

“ THOMAS DARCY kt.

“ JOHN GATES kt.”

Endorsed—“ To the Right worshipfull and
our verai Loving frind Mr. Cicell geove²
these with spede.”

D.

“ My good friends, things cannot go on well in England, nor ever will until every thing shall be in common; when there shall neither be vassal nor lord, and all distinctions levelled; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. How ill have they used us! and for what reason do they thus hold us in bondage? Are we not all descended from the same parents, Adam and Eve? and what can they show, or what reasons give, why they should be more the masters than ourselves? except, perhaps, in making us labour and work, for them to spend. They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs, ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have wines, spices, and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of the straw; and, if we drink, it must be water. They have handsome seats and manors, when we must brave the wind and rain in our labours in the field; but it is from our labour they have wherewith to support their pomp. We are called slaves; and if we do not perform our services, we are beaten, and we have not any sovereign to whom we can complain, or who wishes to hear us and do us justice. Let us go to the king, who is young, and remonstrate with him on

¹ *I. e.* “the expectation.”

² *I. e.* “give.”

our servitude, telling him we must have it otherwise, or that we shall find a remedy for it ourselves. If we wait on him in a body, all those who come under the appellation of slaves, or are held in bondage, will follow us, in the hopes of being free. When the king shall see us, we shall obtain a favourable answer, or we must then seek ourselves to amend our condition." Such was the manner in which John Ball, a priest in the county of Kent, was wont to harangue the people in the reign of Richard II., as recorded in Froissart's Chronicles, bk. ii. c. 73.

E.

Record of the House of Gournay, by Daniel Gurney, Esq., F.S.A., p. 565.

ON THE FAMILY OF KETT.

This family is of great antiquity in Norfolk; the name was originally spelt Cat,¹ Chat, Kett, or Knight. In the reign of King John, Roger le Chat, or le Cat, was possessed of the manor of Repton Hall, alias Cats cum Criketoffs, in Hevingham, in that county.² William le Cat owned it in 1275, Henry le Cat in 1285; after whom John Cat had it: he was succeeded by Henry le Cat, who in 1314 held it of Clare honour and Norwich see.³ In 1316 this Henry had a charter for free warren for this manor, and died

¹ The family of Le Chat was probably of Norman origin. We find Jean le Chat witnessing a deed of gift of 60 sous revenue to the convent of Ouche, in Normandy, by Avicia, wife of Gautier de Hengleville.—*Ordericus Vit.* Caen edit. vol. iii. p. 31.

Ilbert de Chaz, whose tombstone is at Lacock, was a vassal of Bohun, and came from Chaz or Cats, in the neighbourhood of Bohun.—*Hist. of Lacock Abbey, by Bowles and Nicholls*, p. 352.

A family of the name of Le Cat were lords of Beuvreuil, near Gournay, in the 15th century.—*M. de La Mairie, Supplement to his Histoire de Gournay*, p. 432.

² Blomefield, in Hevingham.

³ Robert le Cat had an interest in Bexwell, temp. Henry III., and Henry Cat, temp. Edward I.—*Blomefield, in Bexwell*.

the same year, leaving Margery, his widow, who had her dower in it. In 1319 she released her dower, and William Catt and Katharine, his wife, settled the estate on themselves for life, with remainder to Henry Catt, son of William and Katharine, Thomas, Henry, and Robert, their other sons. In 1345 Sir Constantine de Mortimer was lord of Repton Hall manor, in Hevingham, in right of his wife, the widow of William Cat; and their escutcheon, Mortimer impaling Catt, was formerly in Attleborough Church windows:—

Or, fleur-de-lis sable—Mortimer of Attleborough.

Gules, three cats passant guardant argent—Catt. * *

In 1418 Henry Cat of Hevingham was returned by the justices of the peace as a proper person to serve King Henry V. in his war against France. His arms were, *Gules*, three cats passant guardant argent.

Henry Cat is in the list of Norfolk gentry returned by commissioners in 1433, temp. Henry VI.¹ He held Cattys manor in Smalburgh,² and married Catharine, widow of William de Helveston, and had William Catt, of Hevingham, his son; whose son, Henry, dying young, left his two sisters coheirs: they married Thetford and Yoxley, in which families the manor of Hevingham continued.

A branch of this family was settled at Wymondham, and was, according to Blomefield,³ one of the most ancient and flourishing there. In 22nd. Edward IV., 1483, John Kett, alias Knight, was a principal owner in that place. After the dissolution of the monasteries, William Kett purchased Westwode Chapel, near that place, in 1546. This property was forfeited to the Crown at the rebellion under Robert Kett, in 1549. * *

The property of Westwode Chapel was restored to William, son of Robert Kett, and descended to his son Thomas, whose son, Richard, sold it in 1606.

In 1570 a Thomas Kett revealed a plan of conspiracy against the new foreign settlers in Norwich.⁴

¹ Fuller's Worthies.

³ Blomefield, vol. iii. p. 258.

² Norris MSS. in Smalburgh.

⁴ Blomefield, vol. iii. p. 284.

This family seceded from the Established Church very early after the Reformation; for on the 14th. of January, 1588, Francis Kett,¹ M.A., was burnt at Wymondham, for heretical opinions, then become very common in this country from the influx of Protestant refugees. It is remarkable that Westwode Chapel, the former property of the Ketts, was used as the Quakers' meeting-house on the first appearance of that sect at Wymondham, and the one now used is very near it.²

After leaving Wymondham, the Ketts had property at Stoke-Ferry and other parts of Norfolk. Richard Kett was one of the collectors of ship-money in 1637, for the hundred of Forehoe.³

Robert Kett of Wicklewood was among the Norfolk commissioners for several ordinances in 1643; and for collecting an assessment of £.60,000, by Act of Parliament, in 1657, amongst the commissioners for Norfolk is Thomas Kett, Gent.; and for Norwich, Richard Ket, Gent.⁴ In 1694 Richard Kett, grandson of Richard Kett who sold Westwode Chapel, owned property at Roughton, near Cromer, sold by his son Henry Kett, which Henry had estates at Dickleburgh in 1729, still possessed by the family; and he purchased Seething in 1747, which estate was much enlarged by his son, Thomas Kett, Esq., whose son, George Samuel Kett, Esq., of Brooke, now holds it.⁵

A pedigree of Kett is subjoined, according to present sources of information:—

The Pedigree of Kett.

OR, on a fess, between three leopards' heads erased affrontés azure, a lion passant argent.

Roger le Chat, temp. John, Lord of Repton Hall manor, in Hevingham, Norf.

Robert le Cat, temp. Henry III. owned lands in Bexwell.

William le Chat, 1275, in Hevingham.

Henry le Chat, 1285, held lands in Hevingham and Bexwell.

John Catt.

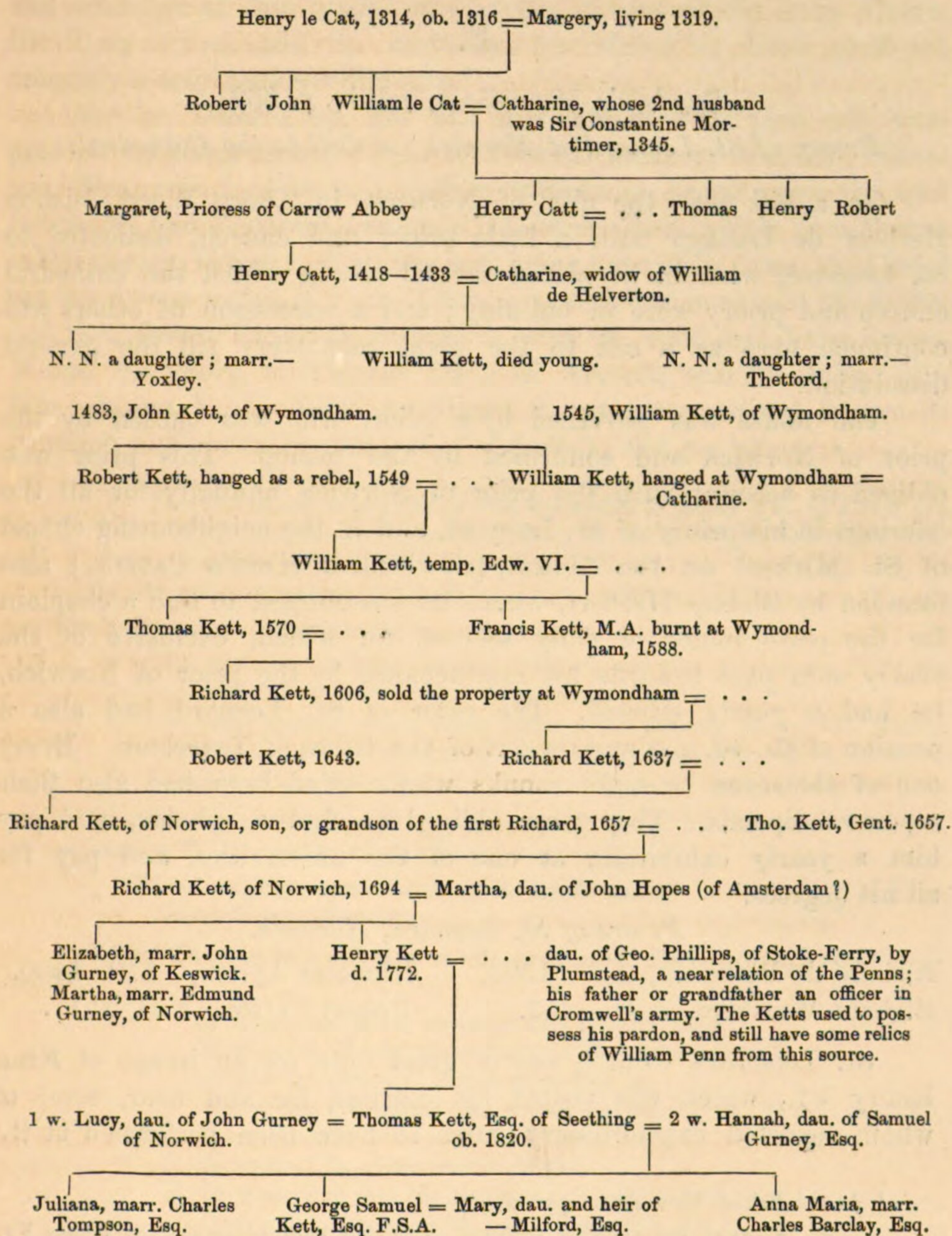
[¹ Lansdowne MSS. in Brit. Mus. No. 982: "Condemnation of Francis Kett for an heretick in 1588," fo. 123.]

² Blomefield, vol. ii. p. 505.

³ Norris MSS. Collect. of Norfolk Papers, vol. ii. p. 19: Ship-money.

⁴ Norris MSS. Extracts of Journals of the House of Commons.

⁵ Papers in possession of Mr. Kett.



F.

Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. iv. p. 662.

Priory of St. Leonard at Norwich: a Cell to the Cathedral.

On a hill near the city of Norwich, in Thorp Wood, Bishop Herbert de Losinga built a little priory and church, dedicated to St. Leonard, wherein he placed several monks whilst the cathedral church and priory were in building; and a succession of others was continued here as a cell to the great monastery till the general dissolution.

The house was governed by a prior, who was chosen by the prior of Norwich and confirmed by the bishop. This prior was obliged to account with the prior of Norwich annually for all the offerings in his priory of St. Leonard, and in the neighbouring chapel of St. Michael on the Mount, [now called KETT'S CASTLE,] also founded by Bishop Herbert, where he was obliged to find a chaplain for the performance of daily service, for which, exclusive of the yearly sum paid towards his maintenance by the prior of Norwich, he had a yearly stipend. The prior of St. Leonard had also a pension of 6s. 4d. per annum out of the tithes of Taverham. Every one of the seven or eight monks who resided here had also their separate stipends. They were obliged to find a scholar, and pay him a yearly exhibition, at one of the universities, and pay for all his degrees.

Priors of St. Leonard, Norwich.

Richard de Blakenen, A.D. 1394.

Nicholas Ayrich, A.D. 1496.

Richard Walsham, A.D. 1452.

Robert Catton, A.D. 1517.

St. Leonard's Church was of great note for an image of King Henry VI., which was visited by pilgrims, far and near, some of whom reported extraordinary cures to have been performed at it.¹

¹ At the British Museum are preserved:—

a. A list of the miracles reported as having been performed by Henry VI.
“ad invocacionem beati Regis henrici sexti.”—*Harl. MSS. No. 423.*

The offerings at this image, and at the images of the Holy Virgin, the Holy Cross, and St. Anthony, are stated to have produced annually a very considerable sum.¹

At the Dissolution, the site and demesnes of this cell were granted by King Henry VIII. to Thomas Duke of Norfolk; whose son, Henry Earl of Surrey, built a sumptuous house upon the spot which it had occupied, wherein he dwelt, and which was thence called Surrey House.² But this earl being beheaded, [Jan. 19, 1547,] the whole was forfeited to the Crown, in which it remained till 1562; and then Queen Elizabeth granted it, with the wood called the Prior's Wood, in Thorp, to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and his heirs; and King James I., in 1602, confirmed it with two capital houses in Norwich to Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and his heirs.

b. The Bull issued in accordance with the wishes of Henry VII. by Julius II., that "diligent and prudent enquiry be made" with reference to these miracles.—*Cotton MSS. Oleop. E. iii. 161*; and

c. The monument intended for him.—*Cotton MSS. Aug. ii. 1.*

The hindrances to Henry's being canonized were:

a. That the miracles were not well attested, and that the actions of his life savoured of weakness rather than sanctity; and

b. The great expense, which wholly defeated the project; Henry VII. finding that this would be in proportion, not to the person of the saint, but to the riches of him that sought this favour.—*Rapin's History of England.*

¹ The following extract from Dugd. Monast. vol. iv. p. 23, shows that there was also an image of St. Leonard to which offerings were made:—

"Et ad imaginem sancti Leonerdi in capella sancti
Leonerdi juxta Norwicum — „ — „ 6½."

² Michael Drayton, in his Epistle to Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, says of this house:—

"Why art thou slack, whilst no man puts his hand,
To raise the Mount where Surrey's Tower must stand?
Or who the groundsil of that work doth lay
Whilst like a wand'rer thou abroad dost stray? * *
When shall the Muses by fair Norwich dwell,
To be the City of the learned Well?
Or when shall that fair hoof-plough'd spring distil
From great Mount Surrey, out of Leonard's Hill?"

Blomefield's History of Norfolk.

G.

Thomas Codde.

The following inscription existed in Blomefield's time on the stone covering the remains of Thomas Codde, in the church of St. Peter per Mountergate: no trace of either stone or inscription can now be found, though it is just possible it may be discovered under the flooring of the present pews, should they ever be removed:—

M. S.

“Hic jacet, et per annos CXV
 Jacuit, quod mortale fuit,
 Sed non quod reliquum fuit,
 Viri istius Boni et Benefici
 THOME CODD quondam
 Senioris, et Rebellanti Ketto
 Opportuni, Fidelis, et strenui,
 Civitatis hujus Norwici Majoris.
 Ne ignorarent Posteris, cui Hæc
 Parochia, imo Civitas Norw:
 Tantum debent, notum esse
 Piè voluit, omnium qui bene
 Fecerunt, Gratissimus Cultor.”

On another stone, no trace of which can now be found, was the following:—

“Here lyeth Johan Codd wedowe late the Wiff of Thomas Codd
 Citizen and Alderman of Norwich, who deceased the 5th. of
 March 1566.”

The heads of his will, which is dated October 12th, 1558, are annually read at this parish church at his commemoration sermon, which is preached before the Court of Mayoralty every Sunday before the feast of St. Thomas. The Mayor and Corporation have not, however, attended at this service since 1835. His effigies, which has also passed away, was in Blomefield's time visible in a north

window in the nave, in which also were remains of the effigies of St. Francis (which shows as if he were a brother of the adjoining monastery of Franciscan friars), and St. Edmund naked, with his hands tied, his crown on, and his body full of arrows, and under him this broken inscription:—

* * * “istius Civitatis Maioris et Aldermani * * * ejus et pro quibus tenentur.”

I am indebted to G. W. W. Minns, Esq., LL.B., for the following information relating to Codd's Gifts:—

Codd's Gifts.—The following account is from the Reports of the Commissioners on Charities and Education, 1815—1839:—

Great Hospital.—Codd's Gift.

“There is property in the parishes of St. Peter per Mountergate and St. Benedict, probably derived from Thos. Codd, the rents of which are carried to the accounts of the Great Hospital, and out of the rents there is paid £.10 yearly to the minister of St. Peter per Mountergate, for preaching a sermon on the Sunday before St. Thomas's day, called Codd's Sermon, also the sum of £.1. 6s. 8d. to the churchwardens of the same parish, as for ‘Knight's meat,’ but which sum is in fact applied for the benefit of the poor, and £.2. 3s. 6d. to the sword-bearer, this sum being also entered in the accounts as Codd's Sermon.”

H.

The Summes of moneye payed and delyvered by me Herry Ruston in y^e tyme of y^e Campe at Mussolde, w^t y^e Assent and consent of the ynhabtance of y^e Townchype of Elmham, and wherfore and to whom, as herafter in the parcells more playnly shall apere, &c. :—

Imprimis, to John wryght for to bye w ^t one fyrkyng of	} — „ — „ xvj
beare and for y ^e gage of y ^e ffyrkynges	
Item. for ffyshe xij ^d for bred vj ^d for mustard ij ^d for	} — „ — „ xxij
Garleekes and Oynnyngs bought ther and then ij ^d	
Item. to wyllm dyks for hys carte and horses to cary w ^t	} — „ ij „ —
vytalls to the seyde Campe	

Item. delyvered to Thomas powle my partener y ^{en} to be bestowed upon suche thyngs as y ^{er} neaded	} — „ vj „ viij
Item. delyvered to hym aft ^r y ^t to y ^e entents aforseyd ...	— „ — „ xvj
Item. Alowed to myselffe for my carte and horses to cary w ^t vytalls to y ^e seyde Campe &c.....	} — „ ij „ —
Item. for bred y ^{en} vj ^d for iij ffyrkyngs of bere y ^{en} iij ^s vj ^d	— „ iij „ —
Item. for bred after y ^t iij ^d and delyvered also to y ^e seyde Thomas Powle my partener to y ^e entents aforseyd iij ^s	} — „ iij „ iij
Item. payed to dyks wyffe aft ^r y ^t for j fykyng of Alle x ^d for ffyse y ^{en} viij ^d for salte ij ^d	} — „ — „ xx
Item. to Thomas Pettus for ij Saulter bokes	— „ v „ iij
Item. Alowed to myselffe for my Carte and horses to cary w ^t vytalls to y ^e seyde Campe.....	} — „ ij „ —
Item. for y ^e Repacion of y ^e hernes vj ^d ob for arow heads j ^d for bred vj ^d for oynyngs j ^d for bredd aft ^r y ^t xij ^d for arowes ij ^d for halters ij ^d for bred ij ^d for ij fyr- kyngs of bere xx ^d to Thomas Cott for mendyng of his bowe and stryngs iij ^d ob.....	} — „ iij „ ix
Item. for bredd after y ^t v ^d to Motts for ij Staves vj ^d for Onynyngs j ob to pytcher for j Staff iij ^d for iij ffyr- kyngs of bere iij ^s iij ^d for butter j ^d for bredd ij ^d	} — „ iij „ x ob
Item. to herry wakefield for mendyng of hys hernes j ^d for bredd vj ^d for bred aft ^r y ^t ij ^d	} — „ — „ ix
Item. Alowed to myselffe for my wages and p ^t of my com- mons xxj ^d for j fyrkyng of bere x ^d for bredd iij ^d for ffyshe viij ^d for tack nayles j ^d	} — „ iij „ viij
Item. Alowed to myself for my Carte and horses after y ^t to cary vytalls to y ^e seyde Campe &c.	} — „ ij „ —
Item. to herry wakefeeld and Clement Crow for y ^{er} expensses and of y ^{er} horses in Norw ^{ch} when they caryed y ^e meal and malte xx ^d for Salt and bredd iij ^d for ffyshe onynyngs iij ^d and for y ^e brueng of one ffyrkyng of ber w ^{tin} Norwych j ^d	} — „ ij „ iij
Item. in Expensses at fakenham for M ^r Vycar and other comrades toke befor y ^e Kyngs Comysyoners y ^{er} ...	} — „ — „ xxij
Item. to Wyllim Smyth towards y ^e setting furth of y ^e Sowdyours of landytch hundred	} — „ v „ j

Item. rec ^t of Thomas Shetell for land ferme iiij ^s ij ^d wher- of was alowed hym for caryeng of vytalls to y ^e campe at Norwyche ij ^s	
Item. delyvered to those of y ^e townchype of Elmham y ^t went ffyrst to y ^e camp at Mushold, that ys to saye to xij of them by the Assent and Consent of seyde townchype, besyds other chargs y ^{er} by y ^e seyde Assent and Consent as hereafter in y ^e severall parcells wher- fore and to whom they wor payed and delyvered more playnly shall apere &c.....	} — „ xij „ —
Item. to y ^e wyves of herry ffyld and Rob ^t Clerk y ^e seyde tyme, pore folcks, y ^{er} husbonds beyng at y ^e Campe	} — „ — „ viij
Item. delyvered after y ^t to certen of y ^e seyde Town goyng to y ^e Campe and for y ^{er} Expenss by the waye	} — „ ij „ —
Item. to Rychard Watson and hys Compene after y ^t for y ^{er} expenss also by y ^e waye thyther	} — „ — „ viij
Item. to Thomas Wakefeld aft ^r y ^t toward y ^e healyng of hys hands and face hurt at y ^e ffyrst skyrmyshes &c.	} — „ — „ xij
Item. payed y ^e x th daye of August to suche as shold tarye at the sayde Campe for y ^{er} wags one week, that is to seye, to Eyght of y ^{em} w ^t y ^e Constable ...	} — „ xiiij „ —
Item. for mendyng of hernes y ^{er} vj ^d and to one y ^t turned y ^e Spets ij ^d for ffysh iiij ^d to Brown also iiij ^d	} — „ — „ xvj
Item. to Rob ^t Clerk then for hys wagys one moneth beyng ther Coke besyde y ^e gyft to hym afore wrytten	} — „ iiij „ iiij
Item. delyvered to y ^{em} of y ^e Campe the xiiij daye of Auguste after y ^t for certen thyngs to be brought y ^{er} and then . . .	} — „ x „ —
Item. to lamberd for byeng of ffyshe and other chargs for hym and his horse y ^e saterday and Sundaye aft ^r y ^t	} — „ — „ xvj
Item. delyvered to Thomas powle one of the Constables of North Elmham at y ^e same tyme &c.	} — „ iiij „ iiij
Item. payed to viij men y ^e xx th daye of August aft ^r y ^t w ^{ch} wer apoynted to tery ^l y ^{er} for y ^{er} wagys aft ^r iiij ^d y ^e daye.....	} — „ xiiij „ —
Item. to vj men y ^t came from y ^e Campe then to drynk w ^t homewards by the waye &c.	} — „ — „ vj

¹ I. e. "tarry."

Item. to y ^e Turner of y ^e Spets ij ^d . And sent to y ^e Campe y ^e Tuasdaye next after y ^t by John Wryght	} — „ x „ ij
Item. to handforth and hys Sone for y ^e caryeng of one barrell of bere to y ^e seyde Campe on horse backe ...	} — „ — „ xij
Item. delyvered to Thomas Cott y ^e Saterdag before y ^e last Skyrmyssh for hym and hys Compenye to drynke w ^t by the waye &c.	} — „ — „ xiiij
Item. to Mr. Quayts for hys hayer [“I do not know what this is.”—G. J.] y ^{er} wych we had (at) y ^e Campe and was lost ther &c.	} — „ iij „ iiij
Item. to James lynne of Norwyche for a Copper Shetell a Spete and a payle lost at y ^e Campe	} — „ x „ ij

Mr. Goddard Johnson, in sending this extract, says: “The above is copied from the Parish Account-book of North Elmham, of entries there made relative to Kett's Rebellion.”

I.

1548 and 1549.

Extracts from the Accounts of Rob^t Raynbald Chamberleyn of the Cite of Norwiche from the fest of S^t Mychaell tharchangell 2 Edw. VI. until the sayd fest of Sent Mychael in the 3^d yeare.

Guyldhalle.

p. 283. *Cyte bochers.*

Itm. of Thomas Toly for the fyrst $\frac{1}{2}$ yere ferme of the 4th. and 5th. stalls bothe in oon.....	} — „ viij „ —
---	----------------

and of him for the last $\frac{1}{2}$ yere nothyng forasmoche
as he was hangyd as a trayto^r.

Itm. of Edmond Ferebye for the fyrst $\frac{1}{2}$ yere ferme of the x th stalle	} — „ viij „ —
--	----------------

and for the last halff yere nothyng for asmoche as
y^e said Ferebye was a rebell in mushold kenell who
fled and left nothing straynabyll.¹

¹ *I. e.* “that could be distrained” for rent.

p. 284. *Contry bochers, Long Row.*

Itm. of John Kyng for the first $\frac{1}{2}$ yere ferme of the } — „ viij „ —
second stalle on the same rowe
and for the last $\frac{1}{2}$ yere nothyng for y^t y^e sayd Kyng
was a rebell in Mushold kenell and was nevyr hard
of syns.¹

p. 285. Itm. of John Hylle for the first half year } — „ vj „ —
ferme of the second stalle
and for the last $\frac{1}{2}$ yere nothyng for that the sayd
hylle was a Rebell in Mushold kenell and was not
hard of syns.

p. 285b. Itm. of John Olivar for the fyrst $\frac{1}{2}$ yere } — „ iiij „ —
ferme of xvij Shop
and of hym for the last $\frac{1}{2}$ yeare ferme nothyng for
y^t the sayd Olivar was a Rebell in Mushold kenell
and came no more ageyn.

But R^d of Alyce Cobbe for a payer of old trustylles } — „ — „ xij
and ij bourds² y^t war in the Shope.....

p. 286. *Tenements and Grownnds. Dyv^s places.*

Itm. of Thomas Hubbard for iij qrs. ferme ended at } — „ xxij „ vj
Mydsom^r for the butter hylls³
and for the last qr. nothyng for y^t the rebels of
Mushold kenell brake down the fences thereof and
made y^t common for that tyme.

p. 287. Itm. of John Bronde for ferme of the hedde } — „ lxvij „ viij
place wth xij Tenements in south Conysford and a
kyllyarde whyche place and tenaments be nowe
consumyd w^t ffyer by the Rebels of Musholde
kenell.. ..

Myghelmas.

[*Payments*]

p. 292. Itm. for makyng clene of the Comon Halle lane } — „ — „ x
whiche was very sore noyed * * * by reason
of the Comocion

¹ *I. e.* “since.”

² *I. e.* “boards.”

³ To the south and west of St. Peter's Southgate Church lie the hills called “Butter Hills,” but corruptly, the true name being “Botelars” or Butler's hills, on whose summit stands the “Black” or “Governor's Tower.” The Prioress of Carrow leased these hills, in 1521, to the City for ever, at a rent of ten shillings a year.—*Hist. of Norfolk: Lynn, 1778. Continuation of Blomefield, by the Rev. Chas. Parkin, of Oxborough.*

Itm. to old kettryngham and his sonne for carying of
xxxviij lods * from y^e sayd lane and Cokys¹ and
Streetes beyonde the Water which war very sore
noyed by reson of y^e sayd comocion } — „ vj „ iiij

p. 293. *Common Statthes.*

The weke byfore Itm. payd to John Styngate ferm^r
Wytson tyde. ther for 1^c fadam of Rede layd in
the old Comon stathe yard for reparacion of the
old howse in the yarde, whiche reede was fechyd²
(as the sayd Styngate sayeth) by the rebells of
mushold kenell } — „ xvj „ —

p. 295. Itm. payd to Edmond Youngs for makyng
clene of the halle,³ Stepyll, buttry, pantry, kechyn,⁴
backhowse, and all oy^r howses of Offyce ther, whiche
war sore noyed w^t the kyngs provysyon ther, ov^r
and above xiiij^s iiij^d R^d of Mr. Spencer } — „ xiiij „ iiij

Itm hewyng freestone for the benchys end at the
Stepyll dore and layeng them one day } — „ — „ viij

Itm to Wylliam Atkyns his prentyse the same day
patchyng the Steppys going out of the hall into
the Kechyn, which war brokyn with rolling down
of vessells, and mendyng dyverse fawts⁵ } — „ — „ vj

p. 295b. Itm to a mason mendyng ij or iiij of the
forsayd steppys which war new brokyn at my lord
of Warwyks provysyon ther } ij „ — „ —

Itm. p^d to Thomas Pecke ferm^r of the tenem^t nexte the
ij Elmys by the commandement of the hole cownsell
of the Cyte for certen dores, wyndows, loops, yron
worke, glasyng, * * * * * planks for a Sta-
byll, a * * * w^tout the Strete dore, a payer of
myddyll gats in the entry, w^t oy^r reparacions done
by hym in the comocion tyme, wheroff to the ac-
comptant was not than prevy, wheroff the partyclers
do appere more at large in a byll made by the sayd
pecke and delyvdd to M. Mayer and hys brothern. } — „ lxiiij „ x

¹ *I. e.* "grates" to the sewers.

² *I. e.* "carried off."

³ St. Andrew's Hall, late the Black Friars, which had at that time a steeple.

⁴ *I. e.* "kitchen."

⁵ *I. e.* "faults," or "defective parts."

p. 296b. *Foren receipts.*

Itm. R^d of John Ronhale for C xiiij lb of yron parcell ¹ }
 of the porcolas ² of fybrygge Gats ³ which war } — „ vij „ —
 brent ⁴ in the Comocion tyme

Churches.

Itm. R^d of certen churchis w^t in the Cyte toward y^e gret charges y^e Cyte hade by reson of a Comocion in the Country :—

Inprimis, R ^d of Seynt Peters in Mancroft.....	x ^{li}
Itm. of Sent Mychaells in Coslany.....	x ^{li}
„ of Seynt Andrews	x ^{li}
„ of Sent John in Madermarket.....	xij ^{li}
„ of Seynt Gregoryes	x ^{li}
„ of Seynt Lawrens	x ^{li}
„ of Seynt Sothons ⁵	x ^{li}
„ of Sent Maryes in Coslany ⁶	x ^{li}
„ of Seynt Margaryts	v ^{li}
„ of Sent Marten in Coslany ⁷	iiij ^{li}
„ of Sent George in Colgate	v ^{li}
„ of Seynt Awstens	v ^{li}
„ of Sent Clement in Fybrigge.....	iiij ^{li}
„ of Seynt Symonds	iiij ^{li}
„ of Sent George in Tomblant ..	v ^{li}
„ of Sent Mychael at the Plee	vj ^{li} xiijs iiij ^d
„ of Sent John tymbyr hylle.....	v ^{li}
„ of Sent Peters in North Conysford ⁸	v ^{li}
„ of Seynt Powles	iiij ^{li}
„ of Sent Mychaels in berstrete ⁹	xxxiijs iiij ^d
„ of Sent Johns at the Gats ¹⁰	xl ^s
„ of Sent Martens at tymbyr hylle	xl ^s

¹ *I. e.* “parcel,” or part.

² *I. e.* “portcullis.”

³ The repairs of Fybridge Gates were subsequently paid for by Alderman Sywhat, as will be seen by referring to p. 308b of these accompts.

⁴ *I. e.* “burnt.”

⁵ *I. e.* Saint Swithin's.

⁶ Or, St. Mary's in Colegate.

⁷ *I. e.* Saint Martin's at Oak.

⁸ *I. e.* Saint Peter's per Mountergate.

⁹ *I. e.* St. Michael's at Thorn.

¹⁰ Or, St. John at the Castle Gate, now St. John's Timber-hill.

Itm of Seynt Crowches ¹	— „ xl ^s „ —
„ of All Seynts in Berstrete.....	— „ lx ^s „ —
„ of Seynt Gyles	v ^{li} „ — „ —
Sum	clli vj ^s viij ^d .
p. 301. Item p ^d by the comandement of Mr Wyllm Rogers then Mayor for certen stuff layd at fybrygge keye for reparacion of the same, in which tyme suche gret Reyne felle, and after that the comocion, for y ^t the sayd reparacion cowde ² not be done. And fyrste p ^d to John bronde for brekyng Ston	} — „ ij „ iiij
Other mynute expenses hade and p ^d betwyxt mydsom ^r and myhelmes in the tyme of thys accompt of, for, and by reason of a Comocion steryd and reysed of the common pepyll of Norff. and Norwiche, and Inkennelled upon Mushold hethe and in thorpe wood and in the place cal ^d St. leonard ³ therunto adjoynyng.	
p. 304. Item p ^d in the tyme of my lord of Warwyck beyeng in the Cyte these parcells folowyng :	
p. 304b. Item to a man that gathered together ten C wights and carryed them to an howse which was shatered and caryed awaye out of the Crane howse at the Common Stathe when y ^t was brent.....	} — „ — „ iiij
p. 304. Item gaffe in reward to Mr. Norry haywad ⁴ at armys w ^t may lord the erle of Warwick.....	
Item to Mr. Bluemantyll, ⁵ harward	— „ xl „ —
Item to ij Trompeters y ^t same tyme	iiij „ — „ —
Item p ^d to Henry Woodrof laborer attendyng upon the Accomptant xiiij dayes whyle my lord of Warwike was in the Cyte, ⁶ ronyng of Erands, helpyng to melte the Gonshotte, caryeng of wood, moche tendyng to the Masters of the Ordenance w ^t moch turmoilyng worke bothe nyght and daye at vj ^d ...	} — „ vij „ —

¹ This church has been totally demolished since 1551.

² *I. e.* "could."

³ See Appendix (F).

⁴ *I. e.* "herald," or rather Norroy king at arms, Gilbert Dethick, Esq.

⁵ Edmund Atkinson, Esq.

⁶ The Earl of Warwick entered the city the 24th. of August, and left on or after the 7th. day of September, to judge by this item.

p. 305. Item payd to Henry Woodrof and Andrew Robynson laborers makyng clene the market place aft ^r my lord was gon yche of them xxiiij days, and to John Angell laborer xij days makyng clene and lodyng of carts at v ^d day every of them	} — „ xxv „ —
Item to Robert Rogers laborer makyng clene vyronnde ¹ the guyldhalle w ^t out, and also y ^e leds, chambers and prysens which war very sore noyed xj days at v ^d	} — „ iiij „ vij
Itm to Andrew Robinson and sonne helpyng hym and the other laborers xiiij dayes at iiij ^d	} — „ iiij „ viij
Itm to John Cadbye for caryeng lxij lodes * * * out of the market place at ij ^d ob ²	} — „ xij „ xj
Itm to yong Keteryngham for xxiiij lods at ij ^d ob	— „ v „ —
Itm to old Keteryngham for fourty lods	— „ viij „ iiij
Itm to Henry Carter for xxij lods	— „ iiij „ vij
Itm to Wyllm Thrower for xxxiiij lods	— „ vij „ j
Itm to Edmond hobbard for lxxvj lods	— „ xiiij „ ix
Itm more to hym for xxiiij lods y ^t came out of the guyldhalle and prysons and from a vought ³ that place w ^t out	} — „ v „ —
Itm p ^d to dyv ^s men for Sholvys, mattocks, baskets, bolls, ⁴ Treys, wode and Candyll	} — „ ij „ —
p. 305b. Drynke, brede, mete, cariage, ropys, nayles, menys labores, and an $\frac{1}{2}$ c leke thyngs not possybill to be wryten particulerly, spent at my lord of Warwik and my lord Marqways comyng for ramperyng of gats, strets, lanys, deks, and abought stanchyng the fyers in Conysford, ⁵ w ^t many oy ^r chargis requerid at dyv ^{se} menys ⁶ hands aft ^r the departyng of the forsayd from the Cite, ij lords.	

¹ *I. e.* "all round."² *I. e.* $2\frac{1}{2}d$.³ *I. e.* "vault."⁴ *I. e.* "shallow baskets."⁵ This mention of the fire in Conisford may be considered as settling the question as to whether it occurred during Kett's Rebellion or some previous disturbance. Blomefield was undoubtedly mistaken in supposing that any such prior commotion had occurred.⁶ *I. e.* "men's."

p. 305 <i>b</i> . Itm to Sander Clark and oyr laborers makyng clene the comon halle, howses, and Cloysters, which war wonderfully sore noyed, * * and makyng clene alle y ^e common halle lane, layeng part * * in the Cloyster yarde and part caryed in to the Strete, in all charges at that place	} — „ xxij „ v
Itm to Cadby for caryeng of ten lods * * out of the lane ther	} — „ ij „ j
p. 306. Itm for byrchyn bromys occupyed in the market place, comon halle, and comon stath, when they war made clene	} — „ — „ vj
Itm to Mr. Awsten Steward Ald ⁿ upon a byll for stoppyng of certen holes in the town walls nere pokethorpe Gats and Magdalen Gats	} — „ iiij „ j
<i>Pokthorpe</i> Itm p ^d to Mr. Jermyne for ij c fote of dry <i>Gats</i> plankes feched at leonards for Pokethorpe gats	} — „ xij „ iiij
p. 306 <i>b</i> . Itm for caryeng the same to Byrchys	— „ — „ viij
Itm for caryeng of ij lods of old tymbyr from the whyte ffryers brydge to byrchys, to be sawen and broken for pokethorp and byshoppe gats	} — „ — „ viij
Itm to John Elye for ij newe hengylls for oon of the halff Gats ther lv ^{li} at iij ^d	} — „ xij „ ix
Itm to hym for mendyng of ij old hengylls y ^t servyd for the other halff gate	} — „ — „ xx
Itm to hym for dyce ¹ hede nayles and Ryvetts xij ^{li} at iij ^d	— „ ij „ —
Item the rest of all the charges of Pokethorpe Gats as well for Carpenters craft as for yron	} ij „ — „ —
p. 307 <i>b</i> . Itm worke was p ^d for by the Churchwardens of Seynt Jamys paryshe, savyng p ^d to John Ronhale for wyddyng ² of the eeys ³ of the oon ⁴ payer of hengylls, and for returnyng of them and setting on of them and ryvettyng	} — „ — „ xij
Itm p ^d to Mr. Codde, Mayer, for dry planke for byshoppe Gats, ov ^r and above y ^t which be left of pokethorpe gats j C and xiiij fote	} — „ x „ x

¹ *I. e.* "nails with dice-shaped heads."³ *I. e.* "eyes."² *I. e.* "widening."⁴ *I. e.* "one."

Itm to John byrche for liij foote of planke	— „ ij „ —
Itm to the sayd byrche and hys brother for all chargis of workemanshype of the sayd Gats in Carpenters craft w ^t , hangyng of them as it appereth by y ^r par- ticular bylls	} — „ lvij „ ix
Itm more to them for certen tymbyr of y ^r own, ov ^r and besyde the tymbyr y ^t came from the Whyte ffryers brydge, as it appere more at large by ther bylls.....	} — „ xij „ —
Itm Rondhale for iiij neue hengylls of $\frac{xx}{iii}$ vij $\frac{1}{2}$ li ¹ at ij ^d lb.....	} — „ xxvij „ j ob
Itm to hym for dyce hede nayle and Ryvetts $\frac{xx}{ix}$ ij $\frac{1}{2}$ at ij ^d lb.....	} — „ xlv „ vij ob
Itm to hym for a payer of Jemewes for the Clycke gate xiiij ^{li} at ij ^d	} — „ ij „ vj
Itm to hym for ij C Inglyshe nayle for the lynyng of the gats of vj bore.....	} — „ — „ xvj
Itm to hym for Clynkyng ² of the sayd gats.....	— „ v „ —
p. 308. Itm for caryeng of the same gats from byrchys at ij lods to young Ketteryngam.....	} — „ — „ xij
Itm to Edmond Bower for ij neue plate locks w ^t keyes and setting on.....	} — „ vj „ viij
Itm to hym for barres, capps, stapylls, hookes, hespys, chenes, and oy ^r thyngs, xxvj ^{li} at ij ^d	} — „ vj „ vj
Itm for dyvse sort of nayles	— „ — „ ij
Itm p ^d to Richard dobyllday freemason for heavyng of freeston, and neue reparyng y ^e walls of the same gats on the feldsyde ³ vj days at viij ^d	} — „ iiij „ —
Itm to John Newman rowmason ⁴ vj days at vij ^d	— „ ij „ vj
Itm to ther ij laborers vj days at v ^d	— „ v „ —

¹ *I. e.* 108 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.

² Clinking is riveting on both sides, while riveting is only on one side, the reverse having a head, as a nail.

³ *I. e.* “on the field, or outer side.”

⁴ *I. e.* “Rough-mason,” a common stonemason’s labourer.

Itm to oyr ij laborers fechyng stagyng, tymbyr, hyrdylls, and ledders, from dyvse places of y ^e Cyte, and caryeng stuffe ¹ and heye to y ^e oyr p ^t of the towers, vj days	} — „ v „ —
Itm to nayles and bast for wolds ²	— „ — „ v
Itm to the sayd ij masons for iij dayes more setting a Wyndow in the est wall, and castyng all the howses w ⁱⁿ , laying bylletts and hooks in the gate howse byneth	} — „ iij „ ix
Itm to ther ij laborers y ^e same iij days and to y ^e oyr ij laborers carryeng home y ^e stagyng, tymbyr, ledders, and hyrdyles, and makyng y ^e howses and leds clene same iij dayes	} — „ v „ —
Itm to Mrs. Cotton for xvij Combs ³ lyme	— „ ix „ —
Itm to Henry Carter for sonde ij lodes	— „ — „ xij
p. 308b. Itm to John byrche for a newe Wyndowe stalle set in the est wall ov ^r y ^e gate	} — „ ij „ viij
Itm for lyntell for the same both above and bynethe, the Wall beyng very thycke	} — „ — „ xx
Itm for a newe loope for the vyce ⁴ dore byneth	— „ — „ xx
Itm to Edmond Bower for a newe locke and keye for y ^e vyce dore and setting on.....	} — „ — „ ix
Itm for a payer of hengylls ⁵ for y ^e same dore	— „ — „ xiiij
Itm for certen stapylls, hooks, and vorells, ⁶ for the long tymbyr barre of the gats	} — „ — „ x
<i>fybrygge</i> Itm All charges of ffybrygge Gates, as well <i>Gate</i> for Carpenters Craft, masons, Smythes, plom ^{rs} , as for yron worke, tymbyr, lede, and all other kynds of Stuffe war p ^d and don by Mr. Nycholas Sywhat, Ald., at whose Charge I knowe not, but p ^d to paschall for cuttyng asonder y ^e Clynke nayles of y ^e porcolas ⁷ ther	} — „ — „ viij

¹ "Stuffe," *i. e.* the wood, &c. of which the staging was composed: "heye," *i. e.* hay, which was used in plastering instead of hair.

² *I. e.* bass, or rush ropes, for "woldering" or folding round anything.

³ A comb is four bushels.

⁴ The door at the foot of a spiral staircase.

⁵ *I. e.* "hinges."

⁶ *I. e.* iron hoops, one at each end of the timber bar, to prevent splitting.

⁷ *I. e.* "portcullis."

- Itm payd to John Elye for a newe locke and key for } — „ — „ xij
the Inder dore and setting on.....
- Itm to ij laborers for oon day worke takyn awaye the } — „ — „ xij
rampere from the utter gate y^r, and lede the man^r¹
of the same at y^e waye w^tout the same gate to
Inlarge yt and made clene the Tower w^tin.....
- p. 309. Itm for lyme iiij Combs and Sonde² a lode ... — „ ij „ vj
- Itm to Henry Woodrof and Andrewe Roby Sen^r laborers, } — „ xxij „ vj
makyng clene all y^e Strete next y^e Comon Stathe as
far as y^e Comon howses go, caryeng the bryke and
Ston in to y^e comon Stathe grownd, and all y^e
Colder³ in to y^e Kylyard and makyng clene dyvse
howses w^tin y^e Comon Stathe place, layeng the
colder in the yarde and a gret porcion of brent Corn,
and cavehyng⁴ up y^e bryke in corners ther, xxvij
days worke at sondry tymes betwyxt Myhelmas and
Crystmes at x^d the day together
- p. 310b. Itm for tymbyr for y^e Style nexte Conysford — „ ij „ —
- Itm for posts Rayles, pales, and tymbyr, for y^e Style next } — „ viij „ —
berstrete for y^e Inclosyng ther
- Itm for a newe falgate⁵ redy made... — „ iiij „ —
- Itm for caryeng of the sayd falgate and other tymbyr to } — „ — „ vj
berstrete and Conysford
- Itm for vj^d and iiij^d nayles w^t yron worke as hooks, eeys, } — „ — „ xxij
stapyls, and hesps
- Pynfolds.* Itm p^d to Colson carpenter for takyng down } — „ vj „ viij
the posts and Rayles of the pynfold⁶ at tymbyr
hille, aft^r the poles war takyn awaye by y^e rebells,
and dyvydyng y^e same stuff into ij pynfolds y^r⁷
wherof be set y^e oy^r at Seynt Awstens

¹ *I. e.* “manor;” any kind of rubbish, as old mortar, bricks, &c.

² *I. e.* “sand.”

³ *I. e.* ashes, cinders, fragments of brick, mortar, &c.

⁴ *I. e.* “piling up roughly.”

⁵ *I. e.* a gate that, when open, falls to of its own accord.

⁶ A common pound for stray cattle.

⁷ *I. e.* “there.”

Itm the rest of all the chargis of the sayd ij pynfolds was born by the sayd Colson and John howman, who spoyled y ^e sayd pynfold in the Comocion tyme, but p ^d for yron worke for the pynfold in Seynt Awstens	} — „ — „ xxij
Itm for caryage of the tymbyr from tymbyr hylle to Seynt Awstens	} — „ — „ vj
p. 311b. Itm payd to John Dabney, Rychard peerse, and John Russell of Ambrynghall, ¹ Dykers, for newe Dykyng a gret porcion, and dyvse parcells of y ^e comon close ² which was cast down by y ^e rebells xvij days worke at xxj ^d a day altogether... ..	} — „ xxix „ ix
Itm to the forsayd iij men and to henry Russell w ^t them hedgyng not allonly ³ y ^t p ^t which was newe dyked, but also gret part of the same Close y ^t was dyked viij days worke at ij ^s iiij ^d	} — „ xvij „ viij
Itm for lawes ⁴ bought in the market and some tyme sent for in the County M vjC bought at dyvse pryces ...	} — „ viij „ iij
Itm to henry Norton of hethyll ⁵ for xxiiij lods of thornys redy layd in the sayd Close in suche places as they war occupied.	} — „ xlvij „ —
Itm to hym for xijC staks ⁶ layd ther.....	— „ xij „ —
Itm to Rob ^t Spall for a newe falgate, ij gret postes, a framyd style, w ^t all tymbyr y ^t to ⁷ belongyng, worke- manshype, and setting up.....	} — „ vij „ —
Itm for caryeng the same thyther iiij ^d for yron worke for the same gate xviiij ^d	} — „ — „ xxij
p. 312b. Itm p ^d to Mr. Awsten Stewerd Ald. for a pece of fyne worsted y ^t was govyn ⁸ to Mast ^r Stafford knyght marshall to my lord of Warwyke at his beyng here	} vj „ — „ —

¹ *I. e.* "Arminghall."

² *I. e.* "town-close:" this "casting down," &c. is described at p. 31 of the History.

³ "Not allonly;" *i. e.* "not only."

⁴ *I. e.* "white-thorn layer," to be laid in the bank to raise a living fence.

⁵ Hethel. The Corporation had an estate here at this time, and have it still.

⁶ *I. e.* "stakes."

⁷ *I. e.* "thereto."

⁸ *I. e.* "given."

<i>Payments by</i>	Itm for a pece of Russell ¹ that was govyn	}	iiij „ — „ —
<i>Mr. Codd</i>	to Mr. holmys Secretary to my sayd		
<i>Mayer.</i>	lord		
Itm p ^d for supper for the Kyngs attorney and solyerys ²	and servants at the Angel ³	}	— „ xvij „ viij
Itm to yong Ketteryngam, Nycolls, and hemlyng, for	caryeng of the Almayns to thetford.....	}	— „ xj „ —
Itm for losse hade in sellyng of y ^e Kyngs brede after	the Soldyers war gone from the Cyte.....	}	— „ xxx „ —
p. 313. <i>Other mynute expenses.</i>			
Itm for ij horses for Sir Andrew flamok			— „ iiij „ —
Itm for a Guyde for a pursevant to Attleburgh.....			— „ — „ xij
Itm for ffysh for my lord of Warwyk on ffryday.....			— „ xxiij „ iiij
Itm to Thoms Kyng for wrytyng of Mr. Coddys accompt	of suche receyts and payments as he had receyved	}	— „ iiij „ iiij
	and payd		
Itm p ^d by the determynacion of Mr Mayer, and of the	hole cownsell of the Cyte, to the separcells followyng		
	at sondry tymes as sewte ⁴ was made.		
Imprims to Mr. Morent for ij packyn roppys dd ⁵ to the	constabyll of ffybrygge warde for the parcolas ⁶ of	}	— „ vj „ viij
	Seynt Awstens and ffybrygge Gates		
Itm to John Bramford constabyll of Seynt Peters for	certen thyngs p ^d by hym in the tyme of the	}	— „ x „ —
	comocion, as it appere by a byll put in ⁷ to Mr		
	Mayer and hys brothern.....		
Itm to John Mace for certen basketts dd ⁵ to pookthorp	and byshoppe Gats, at y ^e comynge of my lord	}	— „ „ x —
	Marques ⁸ and lord Warwyke.....		
Itm to Andrew Quash upon a byll of dyvse thyngs layd	out by hym.....	}	— „ vj „ viij

¹ A fine kind of satin, so called.² *I. e.* "soldiers."³ Now the Royal Hotel, in the Market-place.⁴ *I. e.* "as suit," or "application for the money," was made.⁵ *I. e.* "delivered."⁶ *I. e.* "portcullis."⁷ *I. e.* "sent in."⁸ The Marquis of Northampton.

p. 313b. Itm to Walter ffeer for certen costes don by
hym upon the Tower¹ nexte the Ryver bynethe
pokethorpe gats, aft^r the comocion as it appere by
hys bylle.....

Sum totall.....ccxj^{li} xix^s x^d

Allowances. In prims the Awdytes appoynted for this
Accompt have allowed to the sayd Accomptant for
y^e Ingrossyng of thys Accompt ij tymes.....

Itm they have allowyd hym xxvj^s viij^d payd by thands²
of Mr. Thomas Codde Mayer to Crystover Cocke,
Tann^r, for caryeng of erthe out of his garden nexte
y^e newe Mylls which came out of y^e ryver.....

Itm in consyderacion that y^e sayd Accomptant was put
to the many paynys in the receyvyng of, and
purchasyng of, the Shoppe in the market, and in the
comocion tyme, and syns y^e comocion.....

p. 314. In repayryng of all suche thyngs as was
wasted and dekayed by the rebells, and layeng out
of hys own goods, and borowyng of hys frends, as
well for the payment for the forsayd Shoppys, as for
the reparacion of the forsayd dekayes, tylle monaye
myte at layser³ be preparyd and levyed, all whyche
thyngs consydered they have allowd hym.....

Sum totall.....ccclij^{li} „ — „ xxij^d

p. 311b. And so the comialte⁴ owe to the Accomptant
for hys fforen payments, whyche he have payd more
than he have recevyd in fforen receyts.....

Whyche they have allowd out of ^{xx}ijxix „ v „ ij¹/₄⁵ of
the arrerage of the revenews of the Cyte and so the
sayd Accomptant knowledge hymselff detter to the
comialte⁴ in redy money viij^{li} „ — ^s „ xij^d ¹/₄ and
in detts not yet Rec^d. ij^{li} xvij^s. x^d.

Thys Accompt was vewyd examynd and determyned by the Awdyters here after
namyd the xxvij day of Maye in the iiijth yere of Kyng Edwarde y^e vj.

WYLLM ROGERS	} Ald ⁿ .
AWSTEN STEWARD	
ROB ^r MYCHELL	} Comyns.
ALEXAND ^r MATHEW	

¹ This is now called "the Cow Tower."

² *I. e.* "the hands."

³ *I. e.* "at leisure."

⁴ *I. e.* "commonalty."

⁵ *I. e.* £79. 5s. 3¹/₄d.

K.

Letter of the Duke of Somerset to the Vice-Chancellor and Mayor of Cambridge, from C. H. Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 36.

We comend us right hartlylie unto you, And by your joyntlye lettres of the tenthe of this monthe we understand as well the disordre of certain light persons there attempting disclosures and remeadyes of their owne greifes; As also your good wyse dealing with them toward the appeasing of them, for the which first we give you heartie thanks with commendacion. And for the further ordre of your proceedinge, we will you the maior as your officer and governour being your Steward, that you shall principallye behave your selfe with your brethren so as maye best tend to the comon quiett, And declaring unto them the pleasure of the Kinge's Majestie nowe signified by his majesties commission for the redresse of unlawfull inclosures and suche enormityes, And if they shall not retheyne ordre by the kings authoritie, but by their owne, Assure them of the Kings Majesties extreame indignacion, and in the end to lacke their redresse which uppon their good behaviours they shall both speedilye and effectually receave. For the better opynion wherof if there be any manifest unlawfull inclosures of late made, the same may be by yourselves redressed, and you our vicechancellor as by our direction being your chancellor, we will that ye endeavour your numbere to shew themselves som good exaumples of obeydyence, that learning, virtue, and godlinesse be not slaundered, but that by your conformitie and temperaunce the difference may be tryed betwixt the ignorant and the learned, the rude and the taught. And herein resteth no small chardge of you and others which ought by your profession to be a lyght of virtue, godlinesse, and obedyence. Assuring you both that the Kinges Majestie hath in his hands both mercye and justice. And as his majestie hath bene hitherto disposed to distribute the one largelye: So will he and must, if he be provoked dilate the other, throughe the power of God who keep both your societies in his peace,

to the respect whereof we authorize you to bend your poure and force. And if by gentlenesse the offenders do not cease their evill, Lett them (if they be hable) cease by your execution. Thus fare ye well. From Syon xiiijth of Julye, 1549.

Y^r loving friend

E. SOMERSET.

L.

C. H. Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 37.

CECILL.

After our hartye commendacions, We have receaved your letters of the fifteenth of this instant, and thereby understand your request for a pardon to be graunted to certayne persons lately offending within the Countye of Cambridge, whereunto uppon hope of their amendment we are conformable, And to that end we send you here-with their pardon, upon the proclayming whereof we will ye declare the kings majesties bountifull mercye and goodnesse towards them being moved with pittye upon this their first offence, And uppon the committing of the like not to trust for his majesties mercye to be shewed unto them, but for his princelye power and sword to be extended against them as a scourge to rebels. And yet perceaving amendment uppon this admonition, his majestie will accept and use them as any other his faithfull subjects not committing the like offences. Thus we bidd you farewell. From Westminster the xvith of Julye A^o 1549.

Yo^r loving friend

E. SOMERSET.

Postscriptum. We praye you further to confer with the Sheriff, and for the better execution of this to use his power and authoritye.

M.

The Devonshire Rising.

But the most dangerous commotions, which held so long as to entitle them to the name of rebellions, were those of Devonshire and Norfolk; places remote from one another, but such as seemed to have communicated counsels for carrying on of the design.

The first of these in course of time, was that of Devonshire,—begun (as those in other places) under pretence of throwing open the enclosures, but shortly found to have been chiefly raised in maintenance of their old religion. On Whitsun-Monday, June the tenth, being next day after the first exercising of the public Liturgy, some few of the parishioners of Samford Courtney compelled their parish priest, who is supposed to have invited them to that compulsion, to let them have the Latin mass, as in former times. These—being seconded by some others, and finding that many of the better sort were more like to engage in this quarrel than in the other—prevailed with those which before had declared only against enclosures, to pretend religion for the cause of their coming together. And that being done, they were first headed by Humphrey Arundel, Esquire, commander of St. Michael's Mount, and some other gentlemen, which so increased the reputation of the cause, that in short time they had made up a body of ten thousand men. Of this commotion there was but little notice taken at the first beginning, when it might easily have been crushed; the Lord Protector not being very forward to suppress those risings, which seemed to have been made by some encouragement from his proclamations. In which respect, when the mischief did appear with a face of danger, and could not otherwise be redressed but by force of arms, instead of putting himself at the head of an army, the Lord Russell is sent down with some slender forces, to give a stop to their proceedings. But—whether it were that he had any secret instructions to drill¹ on the time, or that he

¹ Johnson supposes the word, in this sense, to be a corruption of "drawl."

had more of the statesman than the soldier in him, or that he had not strength enough to encounter the enemy—he kept himself aloof, as if he had been sent to look on at a distance, without approaching near the danger.

The rebels in the mean time, increasing as much in confidence as they did in numbers, sent their demands¹ unto the king; amongst which, one more specially concerned the Liturgy, which, therefore, I have singled out of all the rest, with the King's answer thereunto, in the words that follow. It was demanded by the rebels, that, “forasmuch as we constantly believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, being at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man; and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very self-same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the cross for our redemption; therefore we will have mass celebrated as it was in times past, without any man communicating with the priests; forasmuch as many, presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lord's body and other kind of meat; some saying that it is bread both before and after; some saying that it is profitable to no man, except he receive it, with many other abused terms.”

To which demand of theirs the King thus answered: viz., that “For the mass, I assure you, no small study nor travail hath been spent by all the learned clergy therein; and, to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the Apostles used it, as the holy fathers delivered it; indeed, somewhat altered from that to which the Popes of Rome, for their lucre, had brought it. And although (saith he) ye may hear the contrary from some popish evil men; yet our majesty, which for our honour may not be blemished and stained, assureth you that they deceive, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your heads, to finish their own purpose.”

But this answer giving no content, they marched with all their

¹ These are given at full length, with the answer received from the King, by Foxe, in his Book of Martyrs, bk. ix.

forces to the siege of Exeter; carrying before them in their march (as the Jews did the ark of God, in the times of old) the pix, or consecrated host, borne under a canopy, with crosses, banners, candlesticks, holy bread and holy water, &c. But the walls of Exeter fell not down before this false ark, as Dagon did before the true; for the citizens were no less gallantly resolved to make good the town than the rebels were desperately bent to force it. To which resolution of the citizens, the natural defences of the city (being round in form, situate on a rising hill, and environed with a good old wall) gave not more encouragement than some insolent speeches of the rebels, boasting that they would shortly measure the silks and sattens therein by the length of their bows. For forty days the siege continued, and was then seasonably raised: the rebels not being able to take it sooner, for want of ordnance, and the citizens not able to have held it longer, for want of victuals, if they had not been succoured when they were. One fortunate skirmish the Lord Russell had with the daring rebels about the passing of a bridge, at which he slew six hundred of them, which gave the citizens the more courage to hold it out. But the coming of the Lord Gray, with some companies of Almain horse, seconded by three hundred Italian shot, under the command of Baptista Spinoli, put an end to the business; for, joining with the Lord Russell's forces, they gave such a strong charge upon the enemy, that they first beat them out of their works, and then compelled them, with great slaughter, to raise their siege. Blessed with the like success in some following fights, the Lord Russell entered the city on the sixth of August; where he was joyfully received by the half-starved citizens, whose loyalty the King rewarded with an increase of their privileges, and giving to their corporation the manor of Exilond. The sixth of August, since that time, is observed amongst them for an annual feast, in perpetual gratitude to Almighty God for their deliverance from the rebels; with far more reason than many such annual feasts have been lately instituted in some towns and cities, for not being gained unto their king. But, though the sword of war was sheathed, there remained work enough for the sword of

justice, in executing many of the rebels, for a terror to others. Arundel and the rest of the chiefs were sent to London, there to receive the recompense of their deserts; most of the rabble were executed by martial law; and the Vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own tower, apparelled in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle.

Heylin's History of the Reformation.

N.

State Paper Office—Domestic—Edward VI. vol. viii. 56.

LETTER TO MR. CECILL FROM SIR ANTHONY ACHAR.

Sir ye shall understande that one John Whyte came unto me uppon Sonndaye last, and delyvered me a bill of certayne wordes spoken by one George Flecchar, whom I send unto you with the said bill and his answers. Sir, as a pore man maye requier you, be playne with my Lord's grace, that under the pretence of symplyssitie and povertie there maye rest mouche myschyffe. So doe I feare ther dothe in these men called Common Welthes and there aderents. Too declare unto you the state of the Gentilmen (I mean as well the greatest as the lowest) I assure you they are in souche dowte, that allmost they dare touche none of them, not for that they are afrayed of them, but for that some of them have bene sent upp and come a waye without ponysshement, and that Common Welthe called Latymer hath gotten the pardon of others (and so they speke manyfestlye) that I maye well gether¹ some of them to be in gellocye² of my Lord's ffrendship, yea and to be playne, thinke my Lord's grace rather to will the decaye of the gentilmen than otherwyse. prayinge you to requier my Lords grace to beare with my boldness, for as God shall helpe me, I wryte yt onelie of dutie and reverence that I beare to the King's majestie and his grace. Assurynge you that yf wordes maye doe harme or maye be treason or any ylle³ come of them, ther was

¹ *I. e.* "gather."

² *I. e.* "jealousy."

³ *I. e.* "ill."

never none that ever spake so vyllye¹ as these called Common Welthes doe. And let not to saye that yf they have not reformatyon before the feast of St. Clement they will seke another waye. I travelled yestardaye with my Lord Warden who semed to me to be in dowte that my Lord's grace toke his letters in ylle parte rather than good for that he hathe not byn fully answeyrd of them from his grace towching these sedycyous persons. Too be playne with you, uppon full communycacyon hadd with hym, he said, That although tyme served not now, he dowtyd not but that my Lord wold punyshe: and that yf his grace wolde so wryte unto hym yt wolde fully satysfie. I wryte this unto you to thentente² I wolde wyshe my Lord's grace somewhat consortable to wryte unto hym; for, yf I shuld saye myne opynyon, a man is rather to be kepte in this whorlinge worlde then lefte in dowte. I have wrytten the leke letter to my Lord's grace here inclosed: yf yt shall seame meate unto you to be delyvered I praye you seale yt and delyver yt: yf yt shall seme unto you not mete, I praye you use the parte of a ffrende: and to the pore man Fflecchar, I praye you be as good to hym as you maye for he hathe a wyffe and viij chyl dren. Trustinge that from hencefourthe he will be an honest man as knowethe Allmyghtie God, who graunte you long lyffe ffrom Dover, the xth. of September

Your poor ffrend

ANTHONY AUCHAR.

Too the right worshipfull and my very
ffrende Mr. Cycell.

O.

Kett's Governours.

*Norwich.*³

*The hundred of Fourehoo.*⁴—Robt. Kett, Thomas Rolff, Willm. Ket.

*The hundered of North grenehowe.*⁵—Edmond Fframyngham, Willm. Tydde.

¹ *I. e.* "vilely."

² *I. e.* "the intent."

³ The names of those that represented Norwich have been lost.

⁴ *I. e.* "Forehoe."

⁵ *I. e.* "Greenhoe."

The hundred of South Erpyngham.—Reynold Thurston, John Wolsy.
*The hundred of Est*¹ *Flegge and West Flegge.*—Symond Englysshe, Willm. Pecke.
*The hundred of landryche.*²—George blomefild, Willm. Herryson.
*The hundred of Eynsforth.*³—Edmond belys, Robt. Sendall.
The hundred of Humbleyard.—Thomas Prycke, Henry Hokekyngs.
The hundred of [Nor]th erpyngham.—Rychard Bevis, Willm. Dowty.
The hundred [Tav]erham.—Thomas Garrod, Willm. petyr.
The hundred of brothercrosse.—Robt. Manson, Robt. Ede.
The hundred of Blowfeld.—John Spregey, Ely Hyll.
The hundred off Walsham.—John Kytball, Thomas Clerke.⁴
The hundred of Tunsted.—John Herper, Richard lyon.
The hundred of Happyng.—Edward Joye, Thomas Clocke.
The hundred of Hensted.—Willm. Mowe, Thomas Hollyng.
The hundred of Holt.—John Bossell, Valentyn Moore.
*The hundred of loudon and Knaveryng.*⁵—Robt. lerold, Richard Ward.
The hundred of South grenehowe.—Edward Byrd, Thomas tudenham.
*The hundred of Metforth.*⁶—Symond Newell, Willm. Howlyng.
*The hundred off Frebrygge.*⁷—Willm. Heydon, Thomas Jacker.
The hundred of Gallowe.—Robt. Cotte, John Oxwyke.
The hundred of depewade.—Willm. Browne, Symond Sendall.
*Suff.*⁸—Rychard Wright.

Harl. MSS. 304, fo. 75

I have much pleasure in giving here the following additional explanations, tending to throw light upon Kett's Grievances; for which, as also for much other valuable information, I am indebted to G. A. Carthew, Esq., F.S.A., of Dereham.

P. 49, line 8.—Stice, *i. e.* “Stica, mensura numeralis 25 anguillas continens.”—*Spelman. Gloss.*—[I give Spelman's explanation; but as he unfortunately does not explain “anguillas,” it is of little or no value.]

P. 50, line 1.—Castleward rent. The great feudatories of the

¹ *I. e.* “East.”

² *I. e.* “Launditch.”

³ *I. e.* “Eynesford.”

⁴ See page 107.

⁵ *I. e.* “Loddon and Clavering.”

⁶ *I. e.* “Mitford.”

⁷ *I. e.* “Freebridge Lynn.”

⁸ As the Grievances immediately follow, we may assume the list of hundreds represented by Governours to be complete. Twenty-four had representatives, and nine had not.

Crown were bound to make certain payments, collected by the Sheriff or his bailiffs, for the keeping or defence of the King's castles: "Castri defensio vel custodia, quam alii è precario faciunt, alii ex terrarum servitute."—*Spelmanni Glossarium*. Such payments were in proportion to the number of knights' fees, &c. held. The mesne lords subinfeoffed the manors so charged, and the knights, and others holding of them, in their turns required their under-tenants to perform the services, or make the payments in lieu of them.

See an account of the Castle Guard rents payable by the Bishop of Norwich, and other great barons, to the King's castle at Norwich, and of the knights' fees charged therewith: also much information relating to Castle Guard, Blanchefarm rents, &c., in Kirkpatrick's Notes on Norwich Castle, published by Edwards and Hughes, London, 1845, Appendix to History of the Religious Orders, &c. of Norwich. With regard to Blanchefarm rents, Kirkpatrick says (App. p. 294), "I suspect there may be no more in these rents of Alba Firma (blanch or white farm) at first, than only quit-rents due to the King, which were usually paid at the castle."—[See p. 50, note 2, *suprà*.]

P. 51, line 1.—Ffeodorye, Feudary, or Feudatory, was an officer of the Crown, whose duties, combined with those of the Escheator, were to take care of the feuds or rights of the King, and to see that no dues in respect of lands held in capite, escheats, marriages, wardships, &c., were lost; and for that purpose he held inquisitions, or offices (so called from being taken by him *ex officio*), for inquiring into the facts.

The meaning of this prayer is, they wanted the Feudary in every case, instead of being appointed by the Crown, to be appointed by themselves.

P. 52, line 3.—"Esthetory and Ffeodarie," *i. e.*, Escheator and Feudary, both of which have been just explained.

This article means, that no man shall be put, by the officers above mentioned, to the expense of an inquisition, either *post mortem* or otherwise, unless he held of the King in chief, or capite, above £10 a year.

But, even with this additional information, I must admit that there are still difficulties in these Grievances which I have not succeeded in clearing up.

P.

At a gate between Bishop's-gate and the Hospital Tower were placed six pieces ordnance, charged with more than two hundred-weight shot, and other furniture, of bows, bills, and arrows, against the which came great numbers of boys to take the water, but they were, with the arrows and shot, letted of their purpose. And this wrighter till noon was in ayde of them, and being sent for a barrel of beer for the drye armye, was met by a great number which came through the river, and so scared the gunners away and others, that some ran to raise up the City for more help, for the rebels had broken up the rampires, opened the gates, and carried up 6 pieces of ordnance to the hyl, and the rest in such nombre as the citizens could not deal with them, ran, crying about the streets, Traitors! traitors! and great nombre enter'd houses, robbed shops, and did much violence.—*Norwich Roll.*

Q.

I should give the following letter with more pleasure if I had better authority than mere conjecture, for attributing it to Lord Sheffield: Burke says he married the Lady Anne Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, but does not mention his marrying the daughter of "maister Candyshe."

Letter of Edmund Sheffield to Mr. Candyshe.

Grace and peace from oure Lorde Jesus Criste, granter and performer of all his promyses unto his Electe, unto whome (as his holy Apostle witnessethe) all thinges worke to the beste be it truble or vexation, joy or tranquillity.

I do rede in the actes of the Apostells spoken bi the mouthe of Saynct Pawle, and also in his Epistle unto Timothe that a man cannot entre in to the kingdom of heaven withe out persecution and truble, and why? bicause as it is writen in the Epistle to the Galatyans, The sprete desirethe anenste the fleshe, and the fleshe anenste the sprete, and bicause that Esau fleshly mynded persecuthe his brother Jacob, bicause that men fleshly mynded (as are sume greate men, you know whome I meane) folowing the fleshe and the appetite thereoff, persecutethe the trewthe, bicause they will not have their dedes reproved.

Thus it is that my Lorde is muche displeased withe me, and wull not leave to liffe that stone that he cannot beare, how and after what fashion I wull not writte trustyng in any wise that upon the sight hereof you wull visett me in prison, accordyng to the comandement in the Gospell. As I remember when ye were with me ye told me that you would move my Lorde Privy Seale upon this matter, and iff you have done it or wull doo it, you may doo me a greate pleasure and soo fare you well in the Lorde.

Youre faithefull Sonne,

EDMUND SHEFFELD.

Endorsed—To his moste worshipfull father
in Lawe maister Candyshe.

Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

R.

Privy Council Register.

EDWARD VI. vol. I.

xxiiij Aug. p. 574. Mr. Williams had warrant for vij^{li} x^s, viz. v^{li} to Barnard of Norfolke in Reward for service and L^s to v men of Gloucester that brought up a singing man being a Rebelle.

v Sep. p. 580. The same (Mr. Peckham) had warrant for x^{li} to one that caryed a masse of money to the Allmayns remayning in Norff.

Mr. Peckham had warrant for mv^{li} imprest to thalmaynes fotemen serving in Norff.

vi *Sep.* p. 581. Mr. Perse had warrant for v^{li} in reward to Owen Hopton cummyng out of Suff.

viii *Sep.* p. 582. Warrant to _____ for cc^{li} to Horniold imprest for ordynaunce in my L. of Warwickes journey.

xv *Sep.* p. 586. Warrant to _____ for cclxxij^{li} xix^s vj^d to Sir Thomas Gressham for his wages in Norff. uppon the declaracion of Horniold.

xxviii *Sep.* p. 590. Mr. Williams had warrant for xxx^{li} to the Kinges attorney for his coast ¹ and charges going into Norff. remayning there from the xijth. of August until the xxth. of this present. And to the Kinges Sollicitor for the like purpose xx^{li}.

Warrant to _____ for m^{li} to the Lord Willoughby.

Vol. II.

xxiii *Oct.* p. 24. Harry Saxey and Ffrancis Foxall mercers had warrant to pay to John Horniold cccxlj^{li} iiij^s iiij^d, viz. to Sir Roger White Captⁿ lj^{li} xvij^s, to Sir George Awdeley viij^{li} xij^s iiij^d, Sir Marmaduke Constable ix^{li} xvij^s Thomas Russell provost marshall xxx^{li}, to thofficers of thordynaunce ccxx^{li} to the harauldes of tharmy xxj^{li} xvj^s for wages unpaid in the jorney to Norwiche.

xxx *Oct.* p. 27. Mr. Williams had warrant for mmvclj^{li} x^s ² to the Lord Willoughby due to him uppon the determynacion of his accoumpt against the Rebelles in Norff. under thande ³ of thauditours ⁴ of the prest.

xxi *Nov.* p. 39. The Receyvour of the duchy had warrant to pay to Sir William Candish cccc^{li} to be payd over to Sir John Mason for the payment of suche messingers as this sommer past hath been sent in post to dyvers partes of the Realme, and with the rest if any remayne to pay parte of the debt due to thordynary ⁵ postes.

x *Dec.* p. 46. The same treasurer (Mr. Williams) had also warrant for the payment to Cuthbert Musgrove his owne wages as Captⁿ of lyght horsmen from the xvijth. of Aprill after iiij^s per diem, his peticaptⁿ ij^s, Trompeter xij^d, and xij light horsmen eche at ix^d. from the xvijth. of Aprill last past, sythens which tyme he hath had no allowaunce for himself and them payable in the north in respect that he hath been employed with them in service at Norwich journeyeng from the north and attending here for discharge to be payed to the xxvth. of the moneth inclusive.

xvi *Jan.* 1550. p. 58. Warrant to Mr. Williams for vi^{li} xij^s iiij^d to Thomas Woodrif in respect of his charges attending here for lettres into Norff. for the service of his majestie.

¹ *I. e.* "cost."

² *I. e.* £2,551. 10s.

³ *I. e.* "the hand."

⁴ *I. e.* "the auditors."

⁵ *I. e.* "the ordinary."

- vii *Feb.* p. 80. Lettres to Sir Roger Townesende to sett upon the pillary the next market at Wissingseat¹ in Norff. if yt be a market Towne, or else at the nexte Market Towne to Wissingseat, on² William Whitered, for sedicious wordes, and to cut of oon² of his eares, and then dismisse him with a good lesson.
- x *Feb.* p. 88. Warrant to Thexchequer for payment of iij^{li} to certen servautes of Sir Thomas Jermyn and Sir William Drury, for the bringing uppe of William Eyly and John Smith, who be comytted to the Marshalsee for going about the Rebellion.
- xxi *Feb.* p. 98. Lettre to _____ to let their master mason consider the breaches of their towne and give order for provisyon of sand and lyme. And commission shalbe sent for gathering of workmen.³
- xxv *Feb.* p. 103. One _____ Wythe a Rebell of Norff. commytted to the Marshalsey.
- iiij *March.* p. 109. Warrant to Mr. Williams for xl^s to William Saunders for his charge bringing up one Garrett⁴ a malefactor.
- xxi *March.* Vol. ii. p. 124. Two severall lettres of Apparence for William Threlket of Blakney in Norff. and Adam Tongham of Wiveton⁵ nere to Clay also in Norff.
- xvii *April.* p. 145. Lettres to the Justices of peace &c. in all shires to devide themselves into quarters, and to give order for the due execucion of the lawes and statutes and specially of thactes⁶ for vagaboundes, unlawfull games, forstalling, regrating, unlawfull assembles &c. according to the mynute.

S.

The only gentleman of note that was suspected of favouring the insurgents was Sir Nicholas Lestrangle of Hunstanton; but it is not at all clear what grounds there were for this suspicion: the following extracts from his Household Accounts show that he sent his "ordenaunce" to Norwich, but for whom or for what purpose

¹ *I. e.* "Whissonsett:" as this is only a village, the above sentence, if carried out, must have been so at Fakenham, about five miles distant.

² *I. e.* "one."

³ This may refer to Norwich, but (?).

⁴ There is no evidence to show whether or no he belonged to Norfolk.

⁵ Or "Wiverton."

⁶ *I. e.* "the acts."

is not stated; and that he, with certain of his retainers, was there also after the rebellion had been suppressed:—

p. 558. Item p ^d the same daye (July 27) to one that caryed yo ^r ordenaunce to the	at Norwyche	— „ xij
Item p ^d the same daye (Sept. 7) for xvij of o ^r dynners at Norwyche		iiij „ viij
Item p ^d the viij th of September for yo ^r horssemete at Norwyche		xlix „ —
Item p ^d the same daye ther for xvij of o ^r suppers.....		v „ viij
Item p ^d the same daye for a pottell of sacke for the Kyngs Attorney ¹		— „ viij.

This last item shows that he was desirous of securing the friendship of the king's attorney; while from the following letter, addressed by him, September 15th, to "Master cycell," it appears that he had a reason for acting thus:—

MASTER CYCELL, as I have ernest causes to gyve you thankes for my last letter optayned att my lord graces handes unto my lord Willowby for the execucion of my offyce, evyn so I must confesse that, by the delyverye of ytt, yt hath wrought me my lord Willowbys ernest hatred, and yett yt nottwithstanding commanded me from the offyce, clerly bothe ageynst the lawe and allso ageynste the letter. Wherby I have nott loste only² the commodite therof, but allso hathe sustaynyd the dysshonestye of my reputacion, wherby I am verye myche defacyd in my contrey, nott a lytell to my dysspleasure; and yett they, nott therwith contentyd, malycyouslye sekythe with untrouthe my utter undoyng, using for instruments in thys behalffe Sir Roger townsend and Sir edmond Knyvyghte, who hertofo^r hathe sought att my hands to purchasse severall pecys³ of my londs whyche lythe⁴ nere them, wherwith I wyll nott depart,⁵ and now theye seke I thynke, with the good onsett of unthankful Husseye, to obtayne the same in cravyng of my Lord. ther joinyd allso with theme Sir thomas Hoolles who, as you know, [is] a fooll

¹ Archæologia, vol. xxv.

² *I. e.* "I have lost not only," &c.

³ *I. e.* "pieces."

⁴ *I. e.* "lieth."

⁵ *I. e.* "part."

meat¹ to be leed with every wynde. Butt as I gather, theye seeke to make me the begynnare of the commocions in Norff., whyche as you know was begonne before my commyng owght of Hamshyre in too² severall placys; and yf I had benne a manne manyng³ the commocyon, I neyther nedyd to have putt my selffe into a cocke boot⁴ to have passyd the sea into Lyncolnshyre, nor yett to have cravyd the lord Wyllowbye, nor the subtyll glorious Husseye, to make ther repayre unto Lynne, for the defence bothe of the town and allso of the jentyllmen, whyche, takyng the town for reskewe,⁵ were dryven owght ageyne, and from thense as you know I came to London, sekyng meanyes⁶ at the councells handes to quyett the rebells, of whome I recevyd letters to declare unto theme, whyche once declaryd they therwith nott beyng contentyd to dyssevere⁷ theme sellvys, I came my way to Lynne, and waytyd upon my lord Wyllowbye ther with fiftye menne, untill the end att Norwyche. and for the manner of my servyce I wyll reffer ytt to the judgement of all menne that wer there. these my doyns, with my so long absence owght off my cowntreie, well consydered, wyll declare me to be no partaker of the begynnyng of eny commocyon in Norff., as Sir Wyllm. Wodhousse, who was with me, canne declare⁸ me in all thys matter. and yff I shall be chargyd for the leavyng of my brother and my sonne as pledgys for me and for Sir Wyllm. Wodhousse, better I thought ytt so to doo then to have remaynyd my selffe, for I, havyng as you know, a byll sygnyd with the Kyngs maiestyes hand and my lord protector graces hand for the levyng of the countrey, thought myselffe most unmeatt⁹ to have

¹ *I. e.* "a fool, meet to be led," &c.

² *I. e.* "two." The two places may have been Norwich and Castle Rising.

³ "Meaning" seems here to be used for "favouring,"—"meaning to join in the commotion."

⁴ *I. e.* "jolly-boat," or small boat belonging to a ship.

⁵ *I. e.* "seeking protection in the town."

⁶ *I. e.* "means."

⁷ *I. e.* "to disperse themselves."

⁸ "Declare" seems here to be used for "clear," or "state me to have been clear," or innocent, "in all this matter."

⁹ *I. e.* "unmeet."

remanyd with theme yff by eny possyble meanne I wer able to escape ther handes. thus yff eny thyng of thys matter shall come to the handes of my lord protector I shall moste earnestlye crave yow to be my meanne¹ that the evyll Judgement maye be respytyd untill I maye be hard speke.² and yff the offence were so heynus³ in me, as ytt ys not, and as they seke to make ytt, ther hathe benne syns yt thre pardones⁴ proclaymyd in Norff. wheroff a thowsand traytors hathe takyn benyfytt and nott ytt sowght⁵ Wherfor, wherfor I maye well thynke my selffe an unhappye manne, that neyther thynkyng nor doying evyll, shuld be sowght with an offence, whyche ys pardonyd, yff ther wer eny suche, and yett in dede ther ys nonne.

Thys cravyng your erneste frendshype att thys my neede, wherof my poor Ancestors for thys thre hundryd yeres hath nott towchyd with eny suche charge, but the heppe⁶ of papystys⁷ were lefte behynde att Lynne to kepe the towne, who never cowlde fynd eyther leyser⁸ or tyme to inquyre of eny of their own faccyon,⁹ nor yett of eny of eyther the cheff constables or under constables, wherof some never seassed¹⁰ untill the laste daye. Wryten in parte at Lynne thys xvth of September a° 1549.

Yours who cravythe your frendshyp

NYCHOLAS LESTRAUNGE.

I do thynke that Husse cowlde be contentyd that I myght

¹ *I. e.* "the means for me, that the evil judgment may be respited."

² *I. e.* "heard speak."

³ *I. e.* "heinous."

⁴ The three pardons were proclaimed:

a. July 21st, as mentioned, briefly, p. 59, and more fully, p. 74.

b. August 1st, p. 95.

c. August 24th, p. 126, *et seq.*

⁵ The MS. is here somewhat indistinct. The meaning seems to be, "a thousand traitors have taken advantage" of the pardon offered, and so obtained safety "without having sought for it."

⁶ *I. e.* "the heap," or large number.

⁷ *I. e.* "papists."

⁸ *I. e.* "leisure."

⁹ *I. e.* "faction."

¹⁰ The meaning seems to be "never ceased" to act, and consequently they would be able to give evidence as to what took place, "until the last day" of the commotion.

be put to sum trobyll, wherby I myght not make inquerye of hys doyngs. Mr Stanhope ys hys very good master. Sir yff yt shall seme good unto yow, yow maye make Master Stuard¹ pryve unto thys letter, who in my trowthe I truste wyll shew me hys frendshyppe.

T.

*The Duke of Somerset to the Ambassador Sir Philip Hoby,
resident w^t the Emperor, 1st September, 1549.*

After our right harty commendacions, we have heretofore² advertised you of the troblesome busines, uprores, and tumults, practised in sundrye places of the realme, by a number of sedicious and evell disposed persons, to the great disquietnes, bothe of the Kinges ma^{tie} and all other his highnes quiet and loving subjectes; w^{ch} tumults and commocions, albeit at the beginning thei were spred in manie parts of the realme, yet in thende³ all places were well pacified and quieted, saving Devon and Cornewall and Norfolke, wher thei continued their rebellion so stubbornlie, as the Kinges ma^{tie} was forced to send his highnes lieutenant w^t a power bothe waies the sooner to repressse them, and bringe them to their dueties, viz., my L. Privie seale⁴ for Devonshire and Cornewall, and Th'erle of Warwicke into Norfolke. And like as we have heretofore signified unto you the proceadings of my L. Privie seale in his journey, w^{ch} by his politique and wyse handling of the matter, after the slaughter of more then one thousande of the rebelles, and execucion of some of the ringleaders, he hathe (thanks be to god) so honerably achieved and finishede, as not onlie the counties remaine permanently in good order, but also the multitude so repent their former detestable and naughtie doinges, as thei abhorre to heare them spoken of. So you shall understand that, in Norfolke, the living god hathe so wrought by the wysdome and manli-

¹ *I. e.* most probably "the Lord Steward," or "Great Master of the Household," who has been previously mentioned at p. 152.

² See p. 137.

³ *I. e.* "the end."

⁴ John, first Lord Russell.

nes of my L. of Warwicke, that thei also are brought to subjection by suche means as ensueth. The saide rebelles having traveled by the space of one monethe or more to allure to them suche numbers of other light persons as thei might, and partly by that meanes, and partly by force and violence, at the laste hade assemblede together a great number, did after encampe them selves nere the citie of norwiche, w^{ch} citie thei hade also at their commandment, and therin hade placede their victualles and other provisions, wherof thei hade gotten lerge¹ furniture. my L. of Warwicke comming to those parties, after he hade thoroughly understande the state of the rebelles, knowing the better parte of them to be such simple persons, as were either constrainede by force, or otherwise seduced by those of the worser sorte, thought best to use suche meanes for subduing of them as might be w^t leaste effusion of bloude, and punishment onlie of the heades and capitaines. And for this cause, travailing first to cut of² their victualles, did approche the citie of Norw^{ch}, wiche wⁱⁿ shorte time he obtained. and at the getting of it overthrew a good nombre of the rebelles, by w^{ch} meanes he so bridleed them and cut of³ their victualles, as thei were faine to live iij daies w^t water for drinke, and eate their meat w^tout bred. Wherupon on Tuisday last, issuing out of their campe into a plaine nere adjoyning, thei determinede to fight, and like madd and desperat men ranne upon the sworde, where a m^t³ of them being slaine, the rest were content to crave their pardon. One Kett a tanner, being from the beginning the verie chief doer emonge them flede, and the rest of the Rebbelles, casting away their weapons and harnese, and asking pardon on their knees w^t weeping eies,⁴ were by my L. of Warwicke dismissede home w^tout hurte and pardoned. The chief heades, ringleaders, and postes excepted, Kett and iij of his britherne⁵ w^t sundry other chief captaines, all vile persons, were also taken, who now remaine in honde to receive that w^{ch} thei have deserved. Thus are thies vile wretches that hathe now of a lonnge time

¹ *I. e.* "large."

² *I. e.* "off."

³ *I. e.* "mort," "a very great number or quantity."—*Forby's Vocab. of E. Anglia.*

⁴ *I. e.* "eyes."

⁵ *I. e.* "brethren."

troublede the realme, and as muche as in them laie gone aboute to distroye and utterly undowe¹ the same, come to confusion. So that we trust verilie that thies traiterous mutinies and rebellion hathe now an ende (lauded be god) * * * And thus we bide you hartely well to fare.²

U.

Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of the Ketts and others.

EDWARDUS SEXTUS Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremum Caput, dilectis et fidelibus suis, Ricardo Lyster militi, Edwardo Mountague militi, Ricardo Cholmeley militi, Edmundo Mervyn militi, Willielmo Portman militi, et Johanni Hynde militi, Salutem.

Cum * * Willielmus Kette alias dictus Willielmus Knight, nuper de Wyndham in comitatu Norff: mercer, et Robertus Kette alias dictus Robertus Knight, nuper de Wyndham in comitatu Norff: tanner, coram dilectis et fidelibus nostris Edwardo North milite, Johanne Baker milite et Ricardo Southwelle milite, tribus de Concilio nostro, de diversis altis proditionibus per præfatos * * * Willielmum Kette et Robertum Kette fieri suppositis examinati per dictos Edwardum North, Johannem Baker, et Ricardum Southwell, ac super examinationes prædictas de eisdem proditionibus vehementer suspecti existunt, et eorum quilibet

Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer for the Trial of the Ketts and others.

EDWARD THE SIXTH, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth of the Church of England and Ireland Supreme Head, to our beloved and faithful Richard Lyster, Knight; Edward Mountague, Knight; Richard Cholmeley, Knight; Edmund Mervyn, Knight; William Portman, Knight; and John Hynde, Knight; Greeting:

WHEREAS * * William Kette, otherwise called William Knight, late of Wyndham, in the county of Norfolk, mercer; and Robert Kett, otherwise called Robert Knight, late of Wyndham, in the county of Norfolk, tanner; in the presence of our beloved and faithful Edward North, Knight; John Baker, Knight; and Richard Southwell, Knight, three of our Council; concerning various high treasons, by the aforesaid * * William Kette and Robert Kette supposed to have been committed, having been examined by the said Edward North, John Baker, and Richard Southwell, and on the aforesaid examinations concerning the same treasons are, and each one of them is, vehemently

¹ I. e. "undo."

² Harl. MSS. No. 523, fo. 53b. Also, Cotton MSS. Galba, B. xii.

existit, prout ex relatione et testificatione prædictorum Edwardi North, Johannis Baker, et Ricardi Southwell in Cancellario nostro factâ accepimus; Sciatis igitur quod Nos de fidelitatibus, industriis, et providis circumspectionibus vestris plurimum confidentes, secundum formam Statuti¹ in hujusmodi casu editi et provisi, Assignavimus vos vel quatuor vestrum Justiciarios nostros ad inquirendum per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum de comitatu nostro Middx. ac aliis viis, modis, et mediis quibus melius sciveritis aut potueritis tam infra libertates quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit, de quibuscunque proditiionibus, mesprisionibus proditiionum, et murderiis, et eorum cujuslibet per ipsos * * Willielmum Kette et Robertum Kette tam infra comitatus nostros * * Norff: Suff: * * et Essex: quam infra prædictum comitatum Middx. sive infra eorum aliquem qualitercunque habitis, factis, perpetratis sive commissis, Ac de aliis articulis et circumstantiis præmissa et eorum quodlibet sive eorum aliquod vel aliqua qualitercunque concernentibus plenius veritatem; Et ad easdem proditiiones et alia præmissa audiendum et terminandum secundum legem et consuetudinem regni nostri Angliæ ac juxta formam et effectum Statuti prædicti in hujusmodi casu editi et provisi; Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certos dies infra prædictum comitatum Middx. vos vel quatuor vestrum ad hoc provideritis conveniatis apud West: in prædicto comitatu Middx. ac diligenter super præmissis factas inquisitiones et præmissa omnia et singula audiat et terminet, ac ea faciatis et

suspected, as we have learnt from the relation and testimony of the aforesaid Edward North, John Baker, and Richard Southwell, delivered into our Court of Chancery: Know YE, THEREFORE, that we, fully confiding in your fidelity, industry, and provident circumspection, according to the form of the Statute in this case made and provided, have assigned you, or four of you, our justices, to inquire by oath of honest and lawful men of our county of Middlesex, and by other ways, modes, and means by which you will better discover, or may be able to discover more fully the truth, as well within your liberties as without, by whom the truth of the affair may be better discovered, concerning all treasons, misprisions of treason, and murders, and of each one of them, by * * William Kette and Robert Kette, as well within our counties of * * Norfolk, Suffolk * * and Essex, as also within the said county of Middlesex, or within any one of them, in any way had, done, perpetrated, or committed: And concerning other articles and circumstances relating to the premises or to any one of them, or in any way to any or any one of them; and to hear and determine the same treasons and other premises according to the law and custom of our realm of England, and according to the form and effect of the aforesaid Statute in this case made and provided: AND therefore we charge you that on certain days, within the aforesaid county of Middlesex, you, or four of you, in order to see to this, meet at Westminster, in the aforesaid county of Middlesex, and hear and determine diligently the inquisitions made upon the premises, and all and every the premises; and do and complete them in the form aforesaid, doing

¹ 25 Edward III. St. 5, c. 2.

expleatis in forma prædicta, facturi inde quod ad justitiam pertinet secundum legem et consuetudinem regni nostri Angliæ ac Statuti prædicti in hujusmodi casu editi et provisi; Salvis nobis amerciammentis et aliis ad nos inde spectantibus; Mandamus autem tenore præsentium Vicecomiti nostro Middx. quod ad certos dies quos vos vel quatuor vestrum ei scire feceritis, venire faceret coram vobis vel quatuor vestrum tot et tales probos et legales homines de balliva sua tam infra libertates quam extra, per quos rei veritas in præmissis melius sciri poterit, et inquiri.—In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

Teste meipso apud West: xxiii^o. die
Novemb: anno regni nostri tertio.¹

therein what belongs to justice, according to the law and custom of our realm of England, and the aforesaid Statute in this case made and provided, our fines and other things to us belonging being secured to us: We further charge, by the tenor of these presents, our Sheriff of Middlesex, that on certain days which you, or four of you, shall have caused him to know of, he bring before you, or four of you, so many honest and lawful men of his bailiwick, as well within the liberties as without, by whom the truth of the matter in the præmisses may be the better known and inquired into.

In testimony of which we have caused these our letters patent to be issued.

Witness myself, at Westminster, November 23rd, in the 3rd. year of our reign.

The great seal is attached to the above, but partly broken.

V.

As the "Justices' Precept to the Sheriff for the return of the Grand Jury at Westminster on the Tuesday next after the Quinzaine of St. Martin" is merely a legal document in the usual form, I have not thought it necessary to give it: to the above the panel is annexed, from which it appears that the following were chosen to serve on the jury:—

Middx.

RICARDUS BRINE, Gent.

JOHANNES BARNES

WILLIELMUS LOWE

JOHANNES COKE SADLER

ROGERUS A WOD

EDWARDUS GREGORYE

WILLIELMUS RAYNER

RICARDUS BROWNE

¹ From the "Baga de Secretis," formerly kept in the Stone Tower at Westminster, but now at the Record Office, Fetter Lane, Pouch xvii. membr. 12.

MILO¹ CHYLDE
 CLEMENTIUS DAWES
 JOHANNES HUNESDON DE LAYN
 THOMAS WARDE

THOMAS SHEPHARD
 WILLIELMUS PAYE OF
 SUDBERY
 JOHANNES SADGROVE.²

W.

25th November, 3rd Edward VI.

Precept addressed by the Justices to the Constable of the Tower,
 commanding him to bring up the bodies of the after-mentioned,
 * * Robert Kette and William Kette at Westminster,
 on the Tuesday next after the Quinzaine of St. Martin.

Middx.

RICARDUS LYSTER, Miles, et socii sui
 Justiciarii Domini Regis ad inquirendum
 per sacramentum proborum et legalium
 hominum de dicto comitatu Middx. per
 quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit, de qui-
 buscunque proditionibus, mesprisionibus
 proditionum, murderiis, et aliis articulis et
 offensis in quibusdam literis Domini Regis
 patentibus inde specificatis; Et ad hujus-
 modi proditiones, mesprisiones proditionum,
 rebelliones, insurrectiones, felonias,
 et murderias, et alios articulos et offensas
 audiendum et terminandum secundum
 legem et consuetudinem regni Domini
 regis Angliæ assignati, Constabulario
 Turris Domini regis Londoniæ, seu suis
 locum tenentibus ibidem, Salutem:—

Ex parte Domini Regis vobis præcipimus
 quod corpora * * Roberti Kete de
 Wyndham in comitatu Norff. tanner, et
 Willielmi Kete, mercer, in prisiona Domini

Middlesex.

RICHARD LYSTER, Knight, and his fellow
 Justices of our Lord the King, having been
 appointed to inquire on oath of honest and
 lawful men of the said county of Middlesex,
 by whom the truth of the matter may be
 the better known, into all treasons, mis-
 prisions of treasons, murders, and other
 articles and offences specified in certain let-
 ters patent of our Lord the King; And to
 hear and determine treasons of this kind,
 misprisions of treasons, rebellions, insurrec-
 tions, felonies, and murders, and other articles
 and offences, according to the law and custom
 of the realm of our Lord the King of England,
 to the Constable of the Tower of our Lord
 the King, of London, or those supplying his
 place there, Greeting:—

On the part of our Lord the King we
 charge you to bring the bodies * * of
 Robert Kete, of Wyndham, in the county of
 Norfolk, tanner, and William Kete, mercer,

¹ *I. e.* "Miles."

² From the Baga de Secretis, Pouch xvii.

Regis sub custodia vestra detenta, habeatis coram nobis apud West: die Martis proximo post XV. (quindenas) Sancti Martini ad horam octavam ante meridiem ejusdem diei, ad subjiciendum et recipiendum ea quæ Curia Domini Regis tunc et ibidem coram nobis injungentur. Et habeatis tunc hoc præceptum.

Dat: apud Westmystre XXV. die Novemb: anno regni Edwardi sexti Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremum Caput tertio.

J. WHYTE.

(Signed) RIC. LYSTER.¹

in the prison of our Lord the King, under your custody detained, before us at Westminster, on the Tuesday next after the Quinzaine of St. Martin, at 8 in the morning of the same day, to undergo and receive those things which by the Court of our Lord the King, then and there before us, shall be enjoined; And bring with you this precept.

Given at Westminster, November 25th, in the 3rd. year of Edward VI., by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth of the Church of England and Ireland Supreme Head.

J. WHYTE.

(Signed) RIC. LYSTER.

On the back of the above is the following:—

Ante adventum istius præcepti michi [*i. e.* mihi] directi infra nominati * * Robertus Kete et Willielmus Kete michi commissi fuerunt per Consilium Domini Regis salvo custodi; corpora tamen ipsorum * * Roberti et Willielmi ad diem et locum infra contentum parata habeo prout interius michi præcipitur.

Also:—

JOHANNES GAGE, Miles, Constabular Turris infra scriptæ.

Before the coming of this precept directed to me, the within-named * * Robert Kete and William Kete were committed to me for safe keeping by the Council of our Lord the King: the bodies, however, of * * Robert and William, on the day and at the place within contained, I have produced, as within I am required to do.

JOHN GAGE, Knight, Constable of the Tower within named.

¹ From the "Baga de Secretis," Pouch xvii. membrana 4.

X.

*Indictment found against Robert Kete.**Middx.*

INQUIRATUR pro Domino Rege quod cum in Parlamento Domini Edwardi nuper Regis Angliæ tertii, progenitoris Domini Regis nunc, anno vicesimo quinto regni sui, inter alia ordinatum et declaratum existit, Quod quum aliquis compasseret vel imaginatus fuerit mortem Domini Regis, vel si quis levaverit guerram versus Dominum Regem infra regnum suum, aut sit adhærens inimicis Domini Regis in regno suo, vel eis daret auxilium aut confortamentum infra regnum suum seu alibi, et inde probabiliter sit attinctus de aperto facto per gentes suæ conditionis, quod in prædictis casibus adjudicari debet prædictis, prout in eodem Statuto plenius continetur¹—Quidam tamen Robertus, cognomento Kete nuper de Wyndham in comitatu Norff: tanner, aliter dictus Robertus Knight nuper de Wyndham in dicto comitatu Norff: tanner, Deum præ oculis suis non habens, sed instigatione diabolica seductus, et debitam legianciam suam minime ponderans, Ac etiam ut felonice et maliciosus proditor et inimicus publicus præpotentissimo et serenissimo Domino nostro Edwardo sexto, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremo Capiti, felonice, maliciose et proditorie intendens et machinans, cordialem dilectionem et obedientiam, quas omnes veri et fideles subditi

Middlesex.

INQUIRY is to be made for our Lord the King that Whereas, in the Parliament of our Lord, Edward the Third, late King of England, progenitor of our Lord the King that now is, in the 25th. year of his reign, amongst other things it is ordained and declared, That when any one hath compassed or imagined the death of our Lord the King, or if any one hath levied war against our Lord the King, in his realm, or be adherent to the enemies of our Lord the King in his realm, or give to them aid or comfort within his realm or elsewhere; and thereof be proveably attainted of open deed by their peers, which in the aforesaid cases has to be determined by the aforesaid, as in the same Statute more fully is contained: Notwithstanding, one Robert surnamed Kete, late of Wyndham, in the county of Norfolk, tanner, otherwise called Robert Knight, late of Wyndham, in the said county of Norfolk, tanner, not having God before his eyes, but seduced by diabolical instigation, and not weighing his due allegiance; And also as a felonious and malicious traitor, and public enemy, against our most mighty and serene Lord, Edward VIth., by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth of the Church of England and Ireland Supreme Head, feloniously, maliciously, and traitorously intending and plotting utterly to destroy and annihilate that hearty love and obedience which all true and faith-

¹ 25 Edward III. St. 5, c. 2.

dicti Domini Regis nunc hujus regni sui Angliæ in eundem Dominum Regem gerunt et de jure gerere tenentur, penitus extinguere et adnichilare, ac seditionem, rebellionem, insurrectionemque inter eundem Dominum Regem et ejusdem Domini Regis fideles subditos generare, ac eundem Dominum Regem de dignitate, honoribus, et præeminenciis suis regiis deprivare, Et ad dictam ejus feloniam et proditoriam intentionem et nefanda proposita perficienda et perimplenda, ad periculum dicti Domini Regis nunc, et subversionem hujus regni sui Angliæ pro posse suo contra legianciam suam debitam, vicesimo die Julii anno regni Edwardi sexti, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremi Capitis tertio, et continue post dictum vicesimum diem Julii, per sex septimanas tunc proxime sequentes, apud Mousholde hethe, in parochia de Thorpe, juxta Norwych, in comitatu Norff. et apud diversa alia loca in dicto comitatu Norff., per proditorias proclamationes, hutesia, et campanarum pulsationes factas adhærentibus et congregatis ei illicite et proditorie quampluribus malefactoribus ad numerum viginti mille personarum, tanquam feloni, proditores, inimici et rebellatores publici dicto metuendissimo et excellentissimo Domino Regi nunc Edwardo sexto, ex eorum unanimo et proditorio assensu et consensu, cum vexillis explicatis, gladiis, scutis, baculis, tormentis, haubertis, lanceis, arcubus, sagittis, loricis, tunicis defensibilibus, capis, pileis ferreis, et aliis armis defensivis et invasivis modo guerrino armati et arriati proditorie insurrexerunt et guerram levaverunt versus eundem Dominum Regem nunc, Ac nonnulla scripta et billas ad tunc et ibidem scribi

ful subjects of our said Lord the King that now is of this his realm of England, bear and are rightly held to bear towards the same our Lord the King: and to excite sedition, rebellion, and insurrection between the same our Lord the King and his faithful subjects; and to deprive the same our Lord the King of his dignity, honours, and pre-eminences; And in order to perfect and accomplish his said felonious and traitorous intention and wicked purposes, to the peril of our said Lord the King that now is, and the subversion of this his realm of England, according to his power, contrary to his due allegiance, on the 20th. day of July, in the 3rd. year of the reign of Edward Vith., by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth of the Church of England and Ireland Supreme Head; and continuously, after the said 20th. day of July for six weeks then next ensuing, on "Mousholde hethe," in the parish of Thorpe, near Norwich, in the county of Norfolk, and at divers other places in the said county of Norfolk, by traitorous proclamations, hue and cry, and the ringing of bells, very many malefactors being adherent and collecting to him to the number of twenty thousand; [He and they] did, as felons, traitors, enemies, and public rebels against our said most dread and excellent Lord the King that now is, Edward Vith., of their unanimous assent and consent, with banners unfurled, swords, shields, clubs, cannon, halberts, lances, bows, arrows, breast-plates, coats of mail, caps, helmets, and other arms offensive and defensive, armed and arrayed in warlike manner, traitorously make an insurrection and levy war against the same our Lord the King that now is: And he traitorously caused some writings and bills then and there to be written and subscribed, as well to excite and procure the lieges of our

et subscribi fecit tam ad commovendum et procurandum legios dicti Domini Regis in dicto comitatu Norff. ad apertam guerram levandam versus eundem Dominum Regem quam ad veros subditos dicti Domini Regis deprivandum et spoliandum.

Et prædictus Robertus Kete, cum prædictis proditoribus et rebellatoribus, per totum illum vicesimum diem Julii et per sex septimanas tunc proxime sequentes, ad proditoriam intentionem suam prædictam perimplendam, se ipsos insimul apud Mousholde hethe prædictum, in com. Norff. prædicto, et apud diversa alia loca in eodem comitatu Norff., vi et armis prædictis proditorie assemblaverunt, confederaverunt et inter se conspiraverunt populum dicti Domini Regis nunc hujus regni sui Angliæ per guerram et modo guerrino destruere, Ac quamplurimos fideles subditos dicti Domini Regis nunc, videlicet, milites, armigeros, et generosos homines de dicto comitatu Norff. apud Mount Surrey, in dicto comitatu Norff. felonice et proditorie imprisonaverunt et in prisiona illa per magnum tempus felonice et proditorie detinuerunt, clamando, vociferando in his Anglicanis verbis—

Kyll the Gentlemen,¹

Ac quamplurimos fideles subditos dicti Domini Regis nunc in dicto comitatu Norff. de bonis et catallis suis, eodem vicesimo die Julii, et per dictas sex septimanas tunc proxime sequentes, proditorie spoliaverunt et victuallia quæcunque a legiis dicti Domini Regis in eodem comitatu Norff. vi et armis et proditorie ceperunt et asportaverunt; Ac etiam

said Lord the King in the said county of Norfolk, to levy open war against the same our Lord the King; as also to rob and spoil the true and faithful subjects of the said our Lord the King. And the aforesaid Robert Kett, with the aforesaid traitors and rebels, during all that 20th. day of July, and the six weeks then next ensuing, to carry out their traitorous intention aforesaid, together on "Mousholde hethe" aforesaid, in the county of Norfolk aforesaid, and in divers other places in the same county of Norfolk, with the aforesaid force of arms, assembled themselves, confederated and conspired together, by war and in warlike manner to destroy the people of our said Lord the King that now is of this his realm of England: And very many faithful subjects of our said Lord the King that now is, viz. knights, esquires, and gentlemen of the said county of Norfolk, at Mount Surrey, in the said county of Norfolk, did they feloniously and traitorously imprison; and in that prison for a long time feloniously and traitorously detain them, crying and shouting out with these words in English—

Kyll the Gentlemen,

And very many faithful subjects of our said Lord the King that now is, in the same county of Norfolk, did they traitorously despoil of their goods and chattels, the same 20th. day of July and during the said six weeks then next ensuing; and by force of arms did they traitorously take and carry them off; And very many faithful subjects of our said Lord the King that now is, who were under the rule and conduct of the most noble John Earl of Warwick, who was ap-

¹ Extract from Baga de Secretis (Pouch xvii. membr. 9), relating to the Devonshire Rising; "Kyll the gentlemen and we wyll have the acte of six articles uppe again and ceremonies as were in Kinge Henry the Eights tyme."

quamplurimos fideles subditos dicti Domini Regis nunc sub regimine et conduccione prænobilis Johannis comitis de Warwic, locum tenentis dicti Domini Regis, in dicto comitatu Norff. ad dictos Robertum Kete et proditores prædictos vi et armis subigendum, vinciendum, et corripendum, apud Dussingesdale in parochiis de Thorpe et Sprowston, in dicto comitatu Norff., vicesimo septimo die Augusti, dicto anno tertio dicti Domini Regis nunc, in dicto comitatu Norff., cum vexillis explicatis felonice et proditorie in aperto bello murderaverunt et interfecerunt; Et idem Robertus Kete et alii dicti proditores, dicto vicesimo septimo die Augusti, Deo favente, per Ducem prænobilem Comitem Warwic et alios fideles subditos ejusdem Domini Regis, ad tunc et ibidem sub conduccione ejusdem Comitis Warwic existentes, honorifice fuere subjugati et convicti; Et super inde idem Robertus Kete, ut felonice proditor dicti Domini Regis, a bello et loco prædictis, iisdem die et anno felonice et proditorie se elongavit usque et versus Cawson, in dicto comitatu Norff., et ibidem captus et arrestatus fuit per legios dicti Domini Regis, pro nefandis prodicionibus suis prædictis contra legianciam suam debitam ac contra pacem dicti Domini Regis, coronam et dignitates suas ac contra formam Statuti in hujusmodi casu nuper editi et provisi.¹

(Endorsed) Billa vera.

pointed Lieutenant of our said Lord the King to subdue, bind, and seize the said Robert Kete and the traitors aforesaid, did they at Dussingesdale, in the parishes of Thorpe and Sprowston, in the said county of Norfolk, on the 27th. day of August, in the said third year of our said Lord the King that now is, in the said county of Norfolk, with banners unfurled, feloniously and traitorously murder and slay: And the same Robert Kete, and the other said traitors, on the said 27th. day of August, by the favour of God, were, by the General, the most noble Earl of Warwick, and by other faithful subjects of the same our Lord the King then and there under the conduct of the same Earl of Warwick, honourably subdued and conquered: And thereupon the same Robert Kete, as a felonious traitor of our said Lord the King, did from the battle and place aforesaid, the same day and year, feloniously and traitorously betake himself as far as, and towards, Cawson,² in the said county of Norfolk, and was there taken and arrested by the lieges of our said Lord the King, for his wicked treasons aforesaid, against his due allegiance, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity; and against the form of the Statute in this case lately made and provided.

(Endorsed) True bill.

¹ Baga de Secretis, Pouch xvii. membr. 6.

² Or rather "Swannington."

Y.

*Indictment found against William Kete.**Middx.*

JURATI præsentant pro Domino Rege, quod cum in Parlamento Domini Edwardi nuper Regis Angliæ tertii, progenitoris Domini Regis nunc, anno regni sui vicesimo quinto, inter alia ordinatum et declaratum existit, Quod quum aliquis compasseretur vel imaginatus fuerit mortem Domini Regis, vel si quis levaverit guerram versus Dominum Regem infra regnum suum, aut sit adhærens inimicis Domini Regis in regno suo, vel eis daret auxilium aut confortamentum infra regnum suum seu alibi, et inde probabiliter sit attinctus de aperto facto per gentes suæ conditionis, quod in prædictis casibus adjudicari debet prædictis, prout in eodem Statuto plenius continetur: Quidam tamen Willielmus cognomento Kete, nuper de Wyndham, in comitatu Norff. mercer, alias Willielmus Knyght de Wyndham, in comitatu Norff. prædicto, mercer, Deum præ oculis suis non habens, sed instigatione diabolica seductus, et debitam legianciam suam minime ponderans, ac etiam ut felonius et maliciosus proditor et inimicus publicus præpotentissimo et serenissimo Domino nostro Edwardo sexto, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremo Capiti, felonice, maliciose, et proditorie intendens et machinans, cordialem dilectionem et obedientiam, quas omnes veri et fideles subditi dicti Domini Regis nunc hujus regni sui Angliæ in eundem Dominum Regem gerunt et de jure gerere tenentur, penitus extinguere et adnichilare, ac seditionem, rebel-

Middx.

THE JURORS for our Lord the King present that, Whereas, in the Parliament of our Lord, Edward the Third, late King of England, progenitor of our Lord the King that now is, in the 25th. year of his reign, amongst other things it is ordained and declared, That when any one hath compassed or imagined the death of our Lord the King, or if any one hath levied war against our Lord the King in his realm, or be adherent to the enemies of our Lord the King in his realm, or give to them aid or comfort within his realm or elsewhere; and thereof be proveably attainted of open deed by their peers, which in the aforesaid cases has to be determined by the aforesaid, as in the same Statute more fully is contained: Notwithstanding, one William, surnamed Kete, late of Wyndham, in the county of Norfolk, mercer, otherwise William Knyght, of Wyndham, in the county of Norfolk aforesaid, mercer, not having God before his eyes, but seduced by diabolical instigation, and not weighing his due allegiance; And also as a felonious, and malicious traitor, and public enemy against our most mighty and serene Lord, Edward VIth, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth of the Church of England and Ireland Supreme Head, feloniously, maliciously, and traitorously intending and plotting utterly to destroy and annihilate that hearty love and obedience which all true and faithful subjects of our said Lord the King that now is of this his realm of England, bear, and are rightly held to bear, towards the same our Lord the King; And to excite sedition,

lionem, insurrectionemque inter eundem Dominum Regem et ejusdem Domini Regis fideles subditos generare; Et ad dicta ejus feloniam, maliciosam et proditoriam intentionem et nefanda proposita perficienda et perimplenda, ad periculum dicti Domini Regis nunc et subversionem hujus regni sui Angliæ pro posse suo, contra legianciam suam debitam, decimo sexto die Augusti, anno regni Edwardi sexti Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremi Capitis tertio, et per duos dies tunc proxime sequentes, apud Mountsurrey, in parochia de Thorpe juxta Norwych, in dicto comitatu Norff. et apud diversa alia loca infra comitatum prædictum, per proditorias proclamationes ac hutesia facta adhærentibus et congregatis ei illicite et proditorie Roberto Kete et quampluribus malefactoribus ibidem ad numerum viginti mille personarum tanquam felonici proditores, inimici, et rebellatores publici dicto metuendissimo et excellentissimo Domino Regi nunc Edwardo sexto, ex eorum unanimo et proditorio assensu et consensu, cum vexillis explicatis, gladiis, scutis, baculis, tormentis, haubertis, lanceis, arcubus, sagittis, loricis, tunicis defensibilibus, capis, pileis ferreis, et aliis armis defensivis et invasivis modo guerrino armati et arriati, felonice et proditorie insurrexerunt, et guerram levaverunt versus eundem Dominum Regem nunc, et per totum illum decimum sextum diem Augusti et dictos duos dies tunc proxime sequentes, ad proditoriam intentionem suam prædictam perimplendam, se ipsum cum prædicto Roberto et aliis proditoribus et rebellatoribus insimul apud Mountsurrey prædictum et alibi in dicto comitatu Norff. vi et armis prædictis et proditorie

rebellion, and insurrection between the same our Lord the King and his faithful subjects; And in order to perfect and accomplish his said felonious, malicious, and traitorous intention, and wicked purposes, to the peril of our said Lord the King that now is, and the subversion of this his realm of England, according to his power, against his due allegiance, did, on the 16th. day of August, in the 3rd. year of the reign of Edward VIth., by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth of the Church of England and Ireland Supreme Head, and on the two days then next ensuing, at Mount Surrey, in the parish of Thorpe, near Norwich, in the said county of Norfolk, and at divers other places within the county aforesaid, by traitorous proclamations, and hue and cry, there being adherent and gathered to him, unlawfully and traitorously, Robert Kett and very many malefactors there, to the number of 20,000 persons, as felonious traitors, enemies, and public rebels against our said most dread and excellent Lord the King that now is, Edward VIth., of their unanimous and traitorous assent and consent, with banners unfurled, swords, shields, clubs, cannon, halberts, lances, bows, arrows, breast-plates, coats of mail, caps, helmets, and other arms offensive and defensive, in warlike manner armed and arrayed, feloniously and traitorously make an insurrection and levy war against our same Lord the King that now is; and throughout the whole of that 16th. day of August, and the said two days then next ensuing, in order to accomplish their traitorous design aforesaid, did himself, with the aforesaid Robert and other traitors and rebels, at Mount Surrey aforesaid, and elsewhere in the county of Norfolk, with force of arms aforesaid, traitorously assemble, confederate, and conspire together, by war and in warlike manner, to

assemblavit, confœderavit et conspiravit populum dicti Domini Regis nunc hujus regni sui Angliæ per guerram et modo guerrino destruere; Et ulterius Jurati prædicti præsentant quod prædictus Wilhelmus Kete, vicesimo die Augusti dicto anno tertio dicti Domini Regis nunc apud Moushold hethe, in parochia de Thorpe prædicta, in dicto comitatu Norff. felonice et proditorie dedit eidem Roberto Kete et dictis aliis proditoribus ad tunc et ibidem existentibus, confortamentum, auxilium et consilium in proditoriis et nefandis propositis suis, et guerra levanda versus eundem Dominum Regem, contra legianciam suam debitam ac contra pacem dicti Domini Regis nunc, coronam et dignitatem suam, ac contra formam Statuti in hujusmodi casu nuper editi et provisi.

(Endorsed) Billa vera.

destroy the people of our said Lord the King that now is of this his realm of England: And further, the Jurors aforesaid present that the aforesaid William Kete, on the 20th. day of August, in the said 3rd. year of our said Lord the King that now is, on "Moushold hethe," in the parish of Thorpe aforesaid, in the said county of Norfolk, did feloniously and traitorously give to the same Robert Kete and the said other traitors, then and there being, comfort, aid, and counsel in their traitorous and wicked designs, and in levying war against our same Lord the King, against his due allegiance, and against the peace of our said Lord the King that now is, his crown and dignity, and against the form of the Statute in this case lately made and provided.

(Endorsed) True bill.

Z.

Et modo scilicet eodem die Martis, anno tercio supradicto, apud Westm. in com. Midd. coram præfatis Commissionariis venerunt prædicti * * Robtus Kete and Wills. Kete, per Johannem Gage, militem, Constabular. Turris London., in cujus custodia præantea ex causis prædictis, per Consilium dicti Domini Regis commissi fuerunt, et per mandatum ipsius Domini Regis ad barr. hic ducti in propriis personis suis; Et statim de præmissis eis superius separatim impositis allocuti qualiter se velint inde acquietari, dicunt quod ipsi non possunt dedicere quin ipsi, et eorum quilibet, de præmissis eis separatim superius impositis sunt inde culpabiles, prout per separalia indictamenta prædicta superius supponitur: Et inde

And then to wit, on the same Tuesday, in the 3rd. year above mentioned, at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, before the aforesaid commissioners, came the aforesaid * * Robert Kete and William Kete, being brought up by John Gage, knight, Constable of the Tower of London, into whose custody they had previously, for the causes aforesaid, by the Council of our said Lord the King, been committed; And by the command of our Lord the King having been brought hither to the bar in their own persons; And been straightway, concerning the præmisses above severally laid to their charge, asked how they would be acquitted thereof, say that they cannot gainsay but that they themselves, and each of them, concerning the præmisses above severally laid to their charge

ponunt se, et quilibet eorum ponit se, in misericordiam Domini Regis; Super quo instantes servientes Domini Regis ad legem, ac ipsius Regis attornatus juxta debitam legis formam pecierunt¹ versus præfatos * * Robtum Kete, et Willm. Kete super separales cogniciones suas proprias in hac parte factas judicium et execucionem superinde prædicto Domino Rege habendum: Et super hoc visis, et per Curiam his intellectis omnibus singulis præmissis consideratum est quod prædicti * * Robtus Kete et Willm. Kete ducantur per præfatum Constabular. Turris London. usque dictum Turrim: Et deinde per medium civitatis London. directi usque ad furcas de Tyborne trahantur, et super furcas suspendantur, et viventes ad terram prosternantur et interiora cujuslibet eorum extra ventres suos capiantur, ipsisque viventibus comburantur, et capita eorum amputentur; quodque corpora eorum in quatuor partes dividantur: Et quod capita et quarteria cujuslibet eorum ponantur ubi Dominus Rex ea assignare voluerit, &c.²

are GUILTY thereof, as is alleged above by the aforesaid several indictments; and thereupon they, and each one of them, throw themselves on the King's mercy: Whereupon the King's serjeants-at-law and the King's attorney, straightway, according to due form of law, sought against the aforesaid * * Robert Kete and William Kete, on their own several recognizances in this part made, JUDGMENT and EXECUTION thereupon to be had for our said Lord the King: and thereupon all and every the premises having been seen and taken knowledge of by the Court, It was determined that the aforesaid

* * Roberte Kete and William Kete³ be led by the aforesaid constable of the Tower as far as to the said Tower, and from thence be drawn through the midst of the city of London straight to the gallows at Tyburn, and on that gallows be hanged, and while yet alive, that they be cast on the ground, and the entrails of each one of them be taken out and burnt before them, while yet alive, and their heads be cut off, and their bodies divided into four parts; And that the heads and quarters of each of them be placed where our Lord the King shall appoint, &c.

¹ *I. e.* "petierunt."

² Baga de Secretis, Pouch xvii.: conclusion of the "Record of the Session of Oyer and Terminer," &c., membr. 3.

³ There being four other names mentioned in the original (*viz.*, Humphrey Arundel and others, connected with the Devonshire Rising), *Tr* et *Ss*, *i. e.* "tractus et suspensus," "drawn and hanged," is repeated in the margin six times.

AA.

Inquisitio post mortem Roberti Kett.

Liberatum fuit Cur. quinto die Februarij
anno regni Regis Edwardi sexti quarto,
per manus Escaetoris.

INQUISICIO indentat. capt. apud Norwicum in le Shirehous in com. prædicto, terciodecimo die Januarij, anno regni Edwardi sexti, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremi Capitis tercio, coram Henrico Mynne, armigero, Escaetore dicti Domini Regis in com. prædicto virtute officii sui, post mortem Roberti Knyght, alias Kett, nuper dum vixit de Wymondham in com. prædicto, tanner, per sacramentum Roberti Pannell gent., Johannis Downes gent., Johannis Goffe gent., Johannis Parker, Georgij Serles, Roberti Brend, Johannis Bowde, Nicholi Hirne, Edwardi Wright, Johannis Flowerdew, Ricardi Sewell, Ricardi Pede, Johannis Fawcett, Johannis Petynghale, Roberti Kyng, et Thomæ Norton; Qui dicunt, super sacramentum suum, quod prædictus Knyght, alias Kett, de Wymondham in com. prædicto, tanner, per nomen Roberti Kett, alias dicti Roberti Knyght, de altâ prodicione et guerrâ levandâ versus dictum Dominum Regem per ipsum Robertum, apud Musholde hethe, in parochiis de Sprowston et Thorpe juxta Norwicum, in com. Norff., vicesimo die Julii anno regni dicti Domini nostri Regis nunc Edwardi sexti tertio, tunc et ibidem continuata post dictum vicesimum

Done in Court the 5th. day of February, in the 4th. year of the reign of Edward VIth., by the hands of the Escheator.

INQUISITION indented taken at Norwich in the shirehouse, in the aforesaid county,¹ 13th. of January, in the 3rd. year of the reign of Edward VIth., by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth of the Church of England and Ireland Supreme Head; in the presence of Henry Mynne, Esq., escheator of our said Lord the King, in the county aforesaid, by virtue of his office, after the death of Robert Knyght, alias Kett, late, while he lived, of Wymondham, in the aforesaid county, tanner; on the oath of Robert Pannell, gent.; John Downes, gent.; John Goffe, gent.; John Parker, George Serles, Robert Brend, John Bowde, Nicholas Hirne, Edward Wright, John Flowerdew, Richard Sewell, Richard Pede, John Fawcett, John Petynghale, Robert Kyng, and Thomas Norton; Who say, on their oath, that the aforesaid Knyght, otherwise Kett, of Wymondham, in the aforesaid county, tanner, by the name of Robert Kett, otherwise called Robert Knyght, was accused and indicted of high treason, and of levying war against our said Lord the King, by Robert himself on "Musholde hethe," in the parishes of Sprowston and of Thorpe near Norwich, in the county of Norfolk, on the 20th. day of July, in the 3rd. year of the reign of our said King that now is, Edward

¹ The county has not, however, previously been mentioned.

diem Julii per sex septimanas tunc proxime sequentes impetitus et indictatus fuit; Qui quidem Robertus dictus indictatus vicesimo sexto die Novembris, anno regni prædicti Domini Regis nunc tertio, apud Westm. in Curia Dom. Regis coram Ric. Lyster, milite, capitali Justiciario Dom. Regis de Banco, et Edwardo Mountague, milite, capitali Justiciario dicti Domini Regis de Communi Banco, et aliis Justiciariis et Commissionariis ipsius Domini Regis, ad audiendum et terminandum assignatis, altas prodiciones, felonias, murderias et alias offensiones contra eundem Dominum Regem, coronam et dignitatem suam commissas, arriatus fuit super Indictamentum prædictum, et de alta prodicione prædicta, in eodem Indictamento expressa, dictus Robertus ad tunc vicesimo sexto die Novembris exactus, et inde rogatus in Curia prædicta, coram Justiciariis prædictis, quod dicere sciat ad Indictamentum prædictum, qui Indictamentum illud deducere non potuit, sed Indictamentum prædictum et omnia in illa contenta in Curia prædicta coram Justiciariis prædictis, ex mera et spontanea voluntate sua, tunc et ibidem fore vera cognovit, et ipsum inde fore culpabilem factum; per quod consideratum et adjudicatum fuit in Curia illa per Justiciarios prædictos, quod prædictus Robertus Kett, secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Angliæ, traheretur ad locum executionis, et quod ipse ibidem suspendatur, et vivens a crucibus capiatur, quodque interellæ et membra sua a corpore suo scindantur et amoveantur, et in ignem coram ipso Roberto comburantur, ac quod caput et corpus dicti Roberti Kett in quinque partes dividantur, ad ponendum in diversis locis apertis, ad placitum Domini Regis, necnon ad exemplum aliorum, nisi aliter placuerit dicto

VIth., having then and there been carried on after the said 20th. of July for the six weeks then next ensuing; Which said Robert, having been indicted on the 26th. November, in the 3rd. year of the aforesaid Lord the King that now is, at Westminster, in the court of our Lord the King, before Richard Lyster, knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and Edward Mountague, knight, Chief Justice of our said Lord the King's Court of Common Bench; and other justices and commissioners of our Lord the King, assigned to hear and determine the high treasons, felonies, murders, and other offences committed against the same our Lord the King, his crown and dignity, was arraigned on the aforesaid indictment, and of the aforesaid high treason expressed in the same indictment; the said Robert thereupon, on the 26th. day of November, having been demanded and asked in the aforesaid court, before the aforesaid justices, what he had to say to the aforesaid indictment, he could not gainsay that indictment, but as regarded the aforesaid indictment and all things therein contained, he, in the aforesaid court, in the presence of the aforesaid justices, of his own free will, then and there confessed that they were true, and that he himself was guilty thereof; Thereupon it was considered and determined in that court, by the aforesaid justices, that the aforesaid Robert Kett, according to the law and custom of the realm of England, be drawn to the place of execution; that he there be hanged; that he, while yet alive, be taken from the gallows; that his entrails and members be cut off and removed from his body, and be burnt in the fire in the presence of Robert himself; and that the head and body of the said Robert Kett be divided into five parts, to be placed in various public places, according to the King's pleasure, and

Domino Regi pardonare vel aliter determinare pro execucione dicti Roberti: posteaquam prædictus Robertus Kett videlicet primo die Decembris anno regni prædicti Domini Regis nunc tertio, a civitate Londoni usque civitatem Norwici in prædicto comitatu Norff. in prisonam Guyhalde prædictæ civitatis per mandatum dicti Domini Regis conductus fuit, et a prisona illa per mandatum ipsius Domini Regis septimo die ejusdem mensis Septembris (*sic*) usque ad castrum Norwici tractus, tunc et ibidem per muros ejusdem castri, per præceptum ipsius dicti Domini Regis, in cathenis virtute judicii prædicti ut felo et proditor Domini Regis suspensus fuit: Et dicunt ulterius Jurati prædicti, super sacramentum suum prædictum, quod diu ante tempus perpetracionis altæ prodicionis prædictæ, quod Johannes Comes Warwik prænobilis ordinis Garterii miles et Dominus Camerarius Angliæ, fuit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo de et in manerio de Wyndham cum pertinentiis, de omnibus illis mesuagiis, curtilagiis, boscis, subboscis, pasturis et gardinis cum pertinentiis jacentibus sive existentibus in Wyndham, alias Wymondham, in com. prædicto, et aliis villis eidem villæ adjacentibus nuper Hospital. de Burton. Sancti Lazari in com. Leic. spectantibus, cum omnibus aliis redditibus, perquisicionibus, Curiis let., commoditatibus, proficuis, et emolumentis quibuscunque, eisdem mesuagiis et ceteris præmissis aliquo modo spectantibus sive pertinentibus: Et prædictus Comes sic de præmissis seisitus existens, diu ante perpetracionem prodicionis prædictæ per nomen Johannis Dudley prænobilis ordinis Gar-

also for an example to others; unless it should be the pleasure of the said King to pardon, or determine otherwise for the execution of the said Robert: Afterwards the aforesaid Robert Kett, viz., on the 1st. day of December, in the 3rd. year of the reign of the aforesaid our Lord the King that now is, was conveyed from the city of London as far as to the city of Norwich, in the aforesaid county of Norfolk, to the prison of the Guildhall of the aforesaid city, by the command of the said King, and from that prison, by the command of the King himself, on the 7th. day of the same month¹ having been drawn to Norwich Castle, then and there, on the walls of the same castle, by the command of our said Lord the King, was hanged in chains, by virtue of the aforesaid judgment, as a murderer and traitor against the King: And the aforesaid jurors say further, on their aforesaid oath, that for a long while before the time of the perpetration of the aforesaid high treason, John, Earl of Warwick, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and Lord Chamberlain of England, was seised in his demesne, as of fee, of and in the manor of Wyndham with the appurtenances, of all those messuages, curtilages, woods, under-woods, pastures, and gardens, with their appurtenances, lying or being in Wyndham, otherwise Wymondham, in the aforesaid county, and in other villages adjacent to the same town, lately belonging to the Hospital of Burton Lazars, in the county of Leicester, with all other revenues, perquisites, courts leet, commodities, profits and emoluments whatsoever, in any way belonging or appertaining to the same messuages and the other premises: And the

¹ In the Inquisition it is "same month of September;" but this is clearly an error: it should have been "December."

terii militis, Vicecomitis Lisle, ac Magni Admirall. Angliæ, licentia nuper Domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi per literas suas patentes prius habitas et obtentas, dedit, concessit, et carta sua confirmavit, manerium, mesuagia, terras, tenamenta et cetera præmissa, præfato Robto Kett per nomen Robti Knyght alias Kett, habendum et tenendum prædictum manerium, terras, tenamenta, et cetera præmissa, præfato Robto Knyght alias Kett pro termino vitæ ipsius Robti, remanere inde post mortem dicti Robti, Willmo Knyght alias dicto Willmo Kett, tunc filio et heredi apparenti dicti Robti, et hered. et assign. dicti Willmi, ad opus et usum prædicti Robti pro termino vitæ suæ; Et post mortem dicti Robti, ad opus et usum dicti Willmi hered. et assign. suorum tenendum de dicto Domino nuper Rege, herede et successoribus suis, per servicia quæ ad manerium, terras, et tenamenta pertinent, prout per prædictam cartam inde Juratoribus prædictis super capcionem hujus Inquisitionis in evidenc. ostensam, cujus dat. est xxvij die Marcij anno regni dicti nuper Regis Henrici octavi tricesimo septimo plenius liquet et apparet: cujus prætextu dictus Robtus Kett fuit seisitus de manerio prædicto, et ceteris præmissis, tempore perpetracionis altæ prodicionis prædictæ, et die obitus sui, in dominico suo pro termino vitæ suæ, remanere inde post mortem ipsius Robti præfato Willmo Kett, hered. et assign. suis: Et Jurati prædicti ulterius dicunt, super sacramentum suum prædictum, quod præfatus Robtus Kett diu ante perpetracionem altæ prodicionis prædictæ, fuit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo de et in maneriis de Meliors Halle, et Lethers alias Letars, modo vocato Gunviles Maner, cum suis pertinentiis, in Wymondham prædicto et

aforesaid earl, having been thus seised of the præmisses a long while before the perpetration of the aforesaid treason, by the name of John Dudley, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Viscount Lisle, and High Admiral of England, by license of the late King Henry VIIIth, by his letters patent previously had and obtained, gave, granted, and by his deed confirmed the manor, messuages, lands, tenements, and the other præmisses, to the aforesaid Robert Kett, by the name of Robert Knyght, otherwise Kett; To Have and to hold the aforesaid manor, lands, tenements, and the other præmisses, to Robert Knyght, otherwise Kett, for the term of Robert's own life, with remainder, after the death of the said Robert, to William Knyght, otherwise called William Kett, the then son and heir apparent of the said Robert, and to the heirs and assigns of the said William, for the use and benefit of the aforesaid Robert, for the term of his life: And after the death of the said Robert, for the use and benefit of the said William, his heirs and assigns, to hold of the said late King, his heirs and successors, by the services which belong to the manor, lands, and tenements, as more fully appears, and is evident from the aforesaid deed, shown in evidence to the aforesaid Jurors on the holding of this inquisition; of which deed the date is March 27th., in the 37th. year of the late King, Henry VIIIth.: By pretext of which, the said Robert Kett was seised of the manor aforesaid, and the other præmisses at the time of perpetrating the aforesaid high treason and on the day of his death, in his demesne for the term of his life, with remainder, after the death of the aforesaid Robert, to William Kett, his heirs and assigns: And the aforesaid Jurors further say, on their aforesaid oath, that the aforesaid Robert Kett, for a long while before the perpetration of the aforesaid high trea-

aliis villis eidem villæ adjacentibus : Et sic inde seisitus existens diu ante tempus perpetracionem prodicionis prædictæ dedit, concessit, et carta sua indentata confirmavit, medietatem prædictorum maneriorum vocatorum Meliors halle et Lethers alias Letars modo vocat. Gunviles, per nomen medietatis manerii sui de Meliors halle et Lethers alias Letars tunc vocat. Gunviles Manour, cum suis pertinentiis, in Wymondham prædicto, necnon medietatis omnium aliorum maneriorum suorum, messuagiorum, terrarum, tenementorum, pratorum, pascuorum, pastuarum, boscorum, subboscorum, reddituum, serviciorum, Curiarum letarum, vic. franc., catall., waviat., extrahur., escaet., et omnium aliorum hereditamentorum suorum quorumcunque, cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentiis scituatis, jacentibus et existentibus in villa et campis de Wymondham prædicto, seu alibi in aliqua alia villa et loco infra dictum com. Norff., quæ tunc aut antea reputabantur, aut aliquo modo acceptabantur, aut cognoscebantur, pro aliqua parte vel parcella dictorum maneriorum, aut eorum alicujus, quæ prædictus Robtus habuit sibi et heredibus sui sex dono, concessione, liberacione, feoffamento, et confirmacione Ricardi Gonviles ; Habendum et tenendum prædictam medietatem maneriorum prædictorum et ceterorum præmissorum præfato Ricardo Colyor et assignatis suis, ad opus et usum dicti Ricardi et assign. suorum pro termino vitæ suæ, sub forma et condicione sequente ; videlt. si prædictus Robtus solvat seu solvi faciat aut hered. vel execut. sui solvant vel solvi faciant præfato Ricardo Colyour ducent. libras legalis monetæ Angliæ cum inde requisitus fuerit quod ex tunc præsens carta indentata ac seisia præmissorum in forma prædicta libat. et capt. vacuæ sint

son, was seised in his desmene as of fee, of and in the manors of Meliors Hall, and Lethers, otherwise Letars, then called Gunvile's Manor, with their appurtenances, in Wymondham aforesaid, and other villages adjacent to the same town : And being thus seised thereof a long while before the time of the perpetration of the aforesaid treason, he gave, granted, and, by his deed indented, confirmed the moiety of the aforesaid manors called Meliors Hall and Lethers, otherwise Letars, now called Gunvile's, under the name of the moiety of his manor of Meliors Hall and Lethers, otherwise Letars, then called Gunvile's Manor, with their appurtenances in Wymondham aforesaid ; also of the moiety of all other his manors, messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, grazing grounds, pastures, woods, under-woods, rents, services, courts leet, views of frank-pledge, chattels, waifs, strays, escheats, and all other his hereditaments whatever, with all and singular their appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in the town and fields of Wymondham aforesaid, or elsewhere in any other town or place within the said county of Norfolk, which then or previously were reputed, or in any way accepted or acknowledged, as part or parcel of the said manors, or of any one of them, which the aforesaid Robert held for himself and his heirs, by the gift, grant, release, feoffment, and confirmation of Richard Gonviles : To have and to hold the aforesaid moiety of the manors aforesaid and the other premises aforesaid, to Richard Colyor and his assigns, for the use and benefit of the said Richard and his assigns, for the term of his life, under the following form and conditions ; viz., If the aforesaid Robert pay or cause to be paid, or his heirs or executors pay or cause to be paid, to the aforesaid Richard Colyour two hundred pounds lawful money of England upon demand ; that

nulliusque effectus neque vigoris alioquin firma sit et stabilis ad opus et usum dicti Ricardi Colyour pro termino vitæ suæ prout per cartam Indentatam prædicti Robti Juratoribus prædictis super captionem hujus Inquisicionis in evidencia ostensam cujus dat. est sexto die Januarii anno regni dicti nuper Regis Henrici Octavi tricesimo octavo plenius liquet et apparet cujus prætextu prædictus Ricardus Colyour fuit et adhuc est seisitus de prædicta medietate maneriorum prædictorum et ceterorum præmissorum in dominico suo pro termino vitæ suæ sub forma et condicione prædictis et de reversione dictæ medietatis eidem Robto Kett et heredibus suis pertinentibus et de alia medietate maneriorum prædictorum una cum suis pertinentiis vocat. Gunviles idem Robtus Kett tempore perpetracionis prodicionis prædictæ et die mortis sui seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo: Et dicunt ulterius Jurati prædicti super sacramentum suum prædictum quod prædictus Robtus Knyght alias dictus Robtus Kett diu ante perpetracionem prodicionis prædictæ ac tempore quo prædictus Robertus attinctus fuit de alta prodicione prædicta ac tempore mortis suæ fuit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo de et in uno mesuagio cum edificiis et gardinis eidem mesuagio annexatis quondam duo tenementa contigua quorum unum vocatur Chyllinges et alterum vocatur Tyes quondam Johannis Braybroke jac. in vico vocato Cakwik inter Inclusum nuper Abbatis et Conventus monasterii beatæ Mariæ de Wymondham vocatum Wigmore ex parte austr.; et Regiam Viam ex parte aquilon. Et abutt. super tenementum nuper Simonis Sawyer et fossatum dictum Inclusum vocatum Wigmore versus orient. et super tenementum et hortum nuper

thereupon the present Deed indented, and possession of the præmises, in the form aforesaid, cease and become void and of none effect or force; but otherwise, be of force and virtue for the use and benefit of the said Richard Colyour for the term of his life, as more fully appears in and is proved by the said Deed indented of the aforesaid Robert, that was shown in evidence to the aforesaid Jurors on the holding of this Inquisition; of which Deed the date is January 6th, in the 38th. year of the late King, Henry VIIIth: By pretext of which the aforesaid Richard Colyour was, and still is, seised of the aforesaid moiety of the manors aforesaid, and of the other præmises in his demesne for the term of his life, under the form and condition aforesaid, and of the reversion of the said moiety to the same Robert Kett and his heirs belonging; and of the other moiety of the manor aforesaid, together with its appurtenances, called Gunviles, the same Robert Kett, at the time of the perpetration of the high treason aforesaid, was seised in his demesne as of fee: And further the aforesaid Jurors say on their aforesaid oath, that the aforesaid Robert Knyght, otherwise called Robert Kett, for a long while before the perpetration of the aforesaid treason, and at the time when the aforesaid Robert was attainted of the high treason aforesaid, and at the time of his death, was seised in his demesne, as of fee, of and in a messuage, with edifices and gardens to the same messuage annexed, formerly two contiguous tenements, whereof one is called Chyllinges and the other is called Tyes, formerly belonging to John Braybroke, lying in the village called Cakewik, between an enclosure lately belonging to the Abbot and Convent of the monastery of the Blessed Mary at Wymondham, called Wigmore, on the south, and the King's highway, on the north; and abutting on a tenement of the

Margaretæ Braybrok et quondam Ricardi Dukkelyng versus occident. ac eciam de et in una pecia terræ arrabilis jacent. in Wymondham prædicto in campo vocato Cake-wik Fild apud Marlepitts computata pro una acra: Et dicunt ulterius Jurati prædicti quod prædictum manerium vocat. Gunviles cum pertinentiis in Wymondham tempore perpetracionis altæ prodicionis prædictæ ac tempore mortis prædicti Roberti tenebatur et adhuc tenetur de manerio de Grishaugh in Wymondham per fidelitatem et redditum quatuor solidorum et octo denariorum; et valet clare per annum in omnibus exitibus ultra repris. tredecim libras sex solidos et octo denarios: Et quod prædictum manerium de Wymondham nuper Hospital. de Burton Sancti Lazari in dicto com. Leic. cum pertinentiis in Wymondham et aliis villis eidem villæ adjacent. tempore perpetracionis prædictæ altæ prodicionis ac tempore mortis prædicti Roberti tenebatur et adhuc tenetur de Domino Rege in capite Et valet per annum ultra repris. quatuor libras Et quod prædictum mesuagium cum gardinis et edificiis eidem adjacent. cum prædicta pecia terræ computata pro una acra tempore perpetracionis altæ prodicionis prædictæ ac tempore mortis prædicti Roberti tenebatur et adhuc tenetur de prænobilissima Domina Maria sorore Domini Regis nostri prædicti ut de manerio suo de Wymondham per fidelitatem et redditum iiij d. q^o videlt. pro prædicto mesuagio et pecia terræ ij d. q^o et pro prædicto gardino ij d.: Et valet per annum ultra repris. viginti solidos: Et ulterius Jurati prædicti dicunt super sacramentum suum quod prædictus Robertus Kett nulla

late Simon Sawer, and the ditched-in said enclosure called Wigmore, on the east; and on a tenement and orchard of the late Margaret Braybroke, and formerly Richard Dukkelyng's, towards the west; and also of and in a piece of arable land lying in Wymondham aforesaid, in the field called "Cakewik Fild, near the Marlepitts," computed at one acre; And the aforesaid Jurors say further, that the aforesaid manor called Gunviles, with the appurtenances, in Wymondham, at the time of the perpetration of the high treason aforesaid, and at the time of the death of the aforesaid Robert, was held, and is still held, of the manor of Grishaugh, in Wymondham, by fealty, and a rent of 4s. 8d.; and that the clear annual value in all outgoings, beyond reprises,¹ is £13. 6s. 8d. And that the aforesaid manor of Wymondham, lately belonging to the Hospital of Burton Lazars, in the said county of Leicester, with its appurtenances, in Wymondham and other villages adjacent to the same town, at the time of the perpetration of the aforesaid high treason, and at the time of the death of the aforesaid Robert, was held, and is still held, of our Lord the King in capite; And that the annual value of it, beyond reprises, is £4; And that the aforesaid messuage, with gardens and edifices thereunto adjacent, with the aforesaid piece of ground, computed at one acre, at the time of the perpetration of the high treason aforesaid, and at the time of the death of the aforesaid Robert, was held, and is still held, of the most noble Lady Mary, sister of our Lord the King aforesaid, as of her manor of Wymondham, by fealty and a rent of 4½d.; viz., for the aforesaid messuage and piece of ground 2½d., and for the aforesaid garden 2d. And the clear

¹ *I. e.* "deductions."

alia sive plura maneria terras tenementa sive hereditamenta in possessione reversione remaner. servicio nec aliter de dicto Domino Rege nec de aliquo alio infra com. prædictum tempore perpetracionis prodicionis prædictæ nec unquam postea: Et Jurati prædicti ulterius dicunt quod ad præsens ignorant qui vel quis persona sive personæ exitus et proficua præmissorum prædictorum a tempore perpetracionis prodicionis prædictæ usque diem capcionis hujus Inquisicionis habuerunt sive perceperunt.

In cujus rei testimonium uni parti hujus Inquisicionis penes præfatos Juratos remanenti prædictus Escaetor sigillum suum apposuit; alteri vero parti ejusdem Inquisicionis penes præfatum Escaetorem remanenti tam idem Escaetor quam Jurati prædicti sigilla apposuerunt.

Dat. die anno et loco supradictis.¹

annual value, beyond reprises, is 20s. And the aforesaid Jurors say further on their oath, that the aforesaid Robert Kett held none other or more manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in possession, reversion, remainder, service, nor otherwise, of the said Lord the King, nor of any other, within the county aforesaid, at the time of the perpetration of the treason aforesaid, nor ever after; And the aforesaid Jurors say further, that they know not who, or what person or persons, have had or received the outgoings and profits of the aforesaid premises from the time of the perpetration of the treason aforesaid up to the day of the taking of this Inquisition.

In testimony of which, to one part of this Inquisition, that remains in the hands of the aforesaid Jurors, the Escheator aforesaid hath put his seal; but to the other part of the same Inquisition, that remains in the hands of the aforesaid Escheator, as well the same Escheator as also the Jurors aforesaid have put their seals.

Given the day, year, and place above mentioned.

¹ Escheats, Virtute Officii, Edward VI. No. 43.

B B.

Rolls Chapel—Patent Rolls, 4th Edward VI.

Thomas Audeley. Pro Thoma Audeley armigero; de conced. sibi et heredibus.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod nos, in consideracione boni, veri, fidelis, et magnanimi servicii per dilectum et fidelem servientem nostrum Thomam Audeley armigerum in conflictu versus innaturales subditos nostros, proditores ac nobis rebelles in comitatu nostro Norffolciense pro nobis dudum habiti et facti, ac in conviccione et subduccione eorundem multis variisque modis præstiti ac impensi; Quorum quidem rebellium et proditorum quidam Robertus Knyght, alias dictus Robertus Kett, extitit captaneus et conductor præcipuus; de gratiâ nostrâ speciali ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostro, necnon de avisamento Consilii nostri, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentis damus et concedimus præfato Thomæ Audeley omnia illa maneria nostra de Meliors hall, et Lethers hall, alias Leters, modo vocatum Gunvile manor, ac totum illud manerium nostrum vocatum Gunviles maner, in comitatu nostro Norffolciense, cum suis juribus, membris, et pertinentiis universis, nuper parcellam terrarum, possessionum et revencionum dicti Roberti Knyght alias dicti Roberti Kett, de altâ prodicione attincti et convicti dudum existentis: Ac omnia et singula mesuagia, tofta, cotagia, molendina, domos, edificia, terras, tenementa, prata, pascua, pasturas, redditus, reversiones, servicia, redditus oneris, redditus siccis, ac redditus super quibuscumque dimissionibus et concessionibus reservatos, annuitates, annuales redditus, firmas feodi,

Thomas Audeley. For Thomas Audeley, Esq.; grant to himself and heirs.

THE KING to all to whom, &c., greeting. Know ye that we, in consideration of the good, true, faithful and magnanimous services, by our beloved and faithful servant Thomas Audeley, Esquire, in the contest with our unnatural subjects, traitors to and rebels against us, in our county of Norfolk, for us lately had and performed; and in the conquering and subduing of the same in many and various ways had and performed; Of which rebels and traitors one Robert Knyght, otherwise called Robert Kett, was captain and principal leader; Of our special grace, and of sure knowledge, and of our own free will, also with the advice of our Council, We have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, to the aforesaid THOMAS AUDELEY all those our manors of Melior's Hall and Lether's Hall, otherwise Leters, now called Gunvile Manor, and all that our manor called Gunviles Manor, in our county of Norfolk, with all their rights, members, and appurtenances, lately parcel of the lands, possessions, and revenues of the said Robert Knyght, otherwise called Robert Kett, who was lately attainted and convicted of high treason: And all and singular the messuages, tofts, cottages, mills, houses, edifices, lands, tenements, meadows, grazing grounds, pastures, dues, reversiones, services, rents of labour, and rents sec, and rents reserved on any demises or grants, annuities, annual rents, fee-farms, farms, fishponds and fisheries, woods, underwoods, furze, heath, moors, marshes, commons, ways, void places, courts leet, and perquisites and profits of

firmas, aquas piscarias, et piscationes, boscos, subboscos, jampna, brueras, moras, mariscos, comunias, vias, vacua funda, curias letas, ac curiarum letarum perquisitiones et proficua, visus ffranci plegi ac omnia quæ ad visum ffranci plegi pertinent seu imposterum spectare possint aut debent, nativos, nativas et villanos, cum eorum sequelis, feod. militum, wardas, maritagia, esthehetas, relevia, heriettos, bona et catalla, waviata, extrahuras, jura, libertates, advocaciones, jura patronatûs, proficua, commoditates, emolumenta, et hereditamenta nostra quæcumque, cum eorum pertinentiis universis, scituatis, jacentibus et existentibus in villâ, campis et parochiâ de Wymondham alias dictâ Wyndham, in dicto comitatu nostro Norffolciense, ac alibi ubicumque in eodem comitatu Norffolciense, dictis maneriis de Melyors hall, et Lethers hall, alias Leters, ac dicto manerio vocato Gunvyle Manor, seu eorum alicui vel aliquibus quoquomodo spectantibus sive pertinentibus, aut ut membra, partes, vel parcellæ eorundem maneriorum, seu eorum alicujus modo vel antehac habita, cognita, accepta, reputata, dimissa, seu locata existentia: Ac etiam duo illa mesuagia et tenementa nostra cum pertinentiis vocata Chelynges et Tyes modo in unum mesuagium confecta ac unum gardinum eidem adjacens; cum eorum pertinentiis universis quondam Johannis Graybroke ac nuper parcella dictarum terrarum, possessionum, et revencionum dicti Roberti Knyght alias dicti Roberti Kett existentia, scituata, jacentia, et existentia in vico vocato Cakewyke, in Wymondham, alias dicto Wyndham prædicto, inter inclusum nuper Abbatis et Conventûs nuper Monasterii Beatae Mariæ in Wymondham prædicto, vocatum Wygmore, ex parte australi, et

courts leet, views of frank-pledge, and all things pertaining, or that hereafter may or ought to pertain, to view of frank-pledge, bondmen and bondwomen, and villans with their sequels, knights' fees, wards, marriage rights, escheats, reliefs, heriots, goods and chattels, waifs, strays, rights, liberties, callings, rights of patronage, profits, advantages, commodities, and all our hereditaments whatsoever, with all their appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in the town, fields, and parish of Wymondham, otherwise called Wyndham, in our said county of Norfolk, and everywhere else in the same county of Norfolk, in the said manors of Melyor's Hall, and Lether's, otherwise Leters, Hall, and in the said manor called Gunvyle Manor, or to any of them in any way belonging or appertaining, or as members, parts, or parcels of the same manors, or any one of them, being now or in time past held, known, accepted, reputed, demised, or located: And also those our two messuages and tenements, with their appurtenances, called Chelynges and Tyes, now formed into one messuage, and one garden adjacent to the same; with all their appurtenances, formerly belonging to John Braybroke, and lately parcel of the said lands, possessions, and revenues of the said Robert Knyght, otherwise called Robert Kett, existing, situate, lying, and being in the village called Cakewyke, in Wymondham, otherwise called Wyndham, aforesaid, between an enclosure belonging to the late Abbot and Convent of the late monastery of the Blessed Mary, in Wymondham aforesaid, called Wygmore, on the south, and the King's highway on the north; and abutting on the tenement of the late Simon Sawyer and the ditched-in said enclosure called Wygmore, towards the east; and on the tenement and garden of the late Margaret Braybroke, formerly belonging to Richard Duckelyng,

regiam viam ex parte aquilonari, ac abut-
 tantia super tenementum nuper Simonis
 Sawyer et fossatum dictum inclusum
 vocatum Wygmore versus orientem, et
 super tenementum et hortum nuper Mar-
 garetæ Graybroke et quondam Ricardi
 Duckelyng versus occidentem: Necnon
 totam illam peciam terræ arrabilis jacentem
 in Wymondham prædicto, in campo vocato
 Cakewyke felde apud Marlepittes, conti-
 nentem per æstimationem unam acram ac
 nuper parcellam dictarum possessionum
 et revencionum dicti Roberti Knyght
 alias Kett existentem: Ac etiam reversi-
 onem et reversiones prædictorum maneri-
 orum et eorum cujuslibet ac omnium et
 singulorum prædictorum mesuagiorum,
 terrarum, tenementorum et cæterorum
 omnium et singulorum præmissorum, cum
 eorum pertinentiis universis: Ac omnes
 et singulos redditus, revenciones, et
 cæteras annuales proficuas quascumque
 de, in, vel super quibuscumque dimissio-
 nibus seu concessionibus præmissorum
 aut alicujus inde parcellæ factis, reservatas:
 Necnon omnia et singula alia maneria,
 mesuagia, terras, tenementa, redditus, re-
 venciones, servicia et cætera hereditamenta
 nostra quæcumque cum eorum pertinentiis
 universis in Wymondham prædicto ac
 alibi in dicto comitatu nostro Norffolciense
 seu infra regnum nostrum Angliæ dicto
 Roberto Knyght alias dicto Roberto Kett,
 spectantibus et pertinentibus, ac parcellam
 possessionum, proficuorum, hereditamen-
 torum, seu revencionum dicti Roberti Kett
 existentem; Adeo plene, libere, et integre,
 ac in tam amplis modo et formâ prout
 dictus Robertus Knyght alias dictus
 Robertus Kett, aut aliquis alius vel aliqui
 alii præmissa aut aliquam inde parcellam
 antehac habentes sive possidentes aut
 seisiti inde existentes aliquo tempore

towards the west: Also, all that piece of
 arable land lying in Wymondham aforesaid,
 in the field called "Cakewyke Felde at the
 Marlepittes," containing by estimation one
 acre, and being lately parcel of the said pos-
 sessions and revenues of the said Robert
 Knyght, otherwise Kett: And also the rever-
 sion and reversiones of the aforesaid manors,
 and every of them, and of all and singular
 the aforesaid messuages, lands, tenements,
 &c., of all and singular the præmises, with
 all their appurtenances: And all and sin-
 gular the rents, revenues, and other annual
 profits whatsoever, of, in, or upon what-
 soever demises or grants of the aforesaid,
 or any parcel thereof, made or reserved:
 Also all and singular other manors, mes-
 suages, lands, tenements, rents, revenues,
 services, and all other our hereditaments
 whatsoever, with all their appurtenances, in
 Wymondham aforesaid, and elsewhere in our
 said county of Norfolk, or within our king-
 dom of England, to the said Robert Knyght,
 otherwise called Robert Kett, belonging or
 appertaining, and being parcel of the posses-
 sions, profits, hereditaments, or revenues of
 the said Robert Kett; As fully, freely, and
 entirely, and in as full manner and form, as
 the said Robert Knyght, otherwise called
 Robert Kett, or any other or others in time
 past having or possessing the præmises, or
 any parcel thereof, or being seised thereof at
 any time before the attainder and conviction
 of the said Robert, had, held, or enjoyed the
 aforesaid manors, messuages, lands, tenements,
 and the other præmises; or ought to have
 had, held, or enjoyed them: And as fully,
 freely, and entirely, and in as full manner
 and form as all and singular of them, into our
 hands, by reason and pretext of the attainder
 and conviction of the said Robert Knyght,
 otherwise called Robert Kett, or in any other
 way whatsoever, have come or ought to have

ante attincturam et conviccionem dicti Roberti prædicta maneria, mesuagia, terras, tenementa et cætera præmissa, aut aliquam inde parcellam, habuit, tenuit, vel gavisus fuit, habuerunt, tenuerunt, vel gavisi fuerunt; seu habere, tenere, vel gaudere, debuit aut debuerunt; Et adeo plene, libere et integre, ac in tam amplis modo et formâ prout ea omnia et singula ad manus nostras ratione et prætextu attincturæ et conviccionis dicti Roberti Knyght, alias dicti Roberti Kett, aut aliter quocumque modo devenerunt seu devenire debuerunt, ac in manibus nostris jam existunt aut existere debent; Quæ quidem maneria, mesuagia, terræ, tenementa et præmissa cum pertinentiis modo extendunt ad clarum annum valorem quadraginta marcarum, habendum, tenendum et gaudendum prædicta maneria, mesuagia, terras, tenementa, redditus, revenciones, servicia, boscos, subboscos, curias letas, visum ffranci plegi, ac cætera omnia et singula præmissa cum eorum pertinentiis universis præfato Thomæ Audeley heredibus suis in perpetuum, ad proprium opus et usum ipsius Thomæ Audeley heredum et assignatorum suorum in perpetuum tenendum de nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris in socagio, ut de manerio nostro de Cossey in dicto comitatu nostro Norffolciense, per fidelitatem tantum, et non in capite, pro omnibus redditibus, serviciis et demaundis quibuscumque proinde nobis, heredibus vel successoribus nostris quoquo modo reddendis, solvendis vel faciendis. Damus etiam pro consideratione prædictâ ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostro de avisamento prædicto per præsentis concedimus præfato Thomæ Audeley omnia et singula exitus, redditus, revenciones et proficua omnium et singulorum præmissorum et ejuslibet

come, and are now in our hands, or ought to be; Which manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and præmises, with their appurtenances, now reach the clear annual value of forty marks; To have, hold, and enjoy the aforesaid manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, revenues, services, woods, under-woods, courts leet, view of frank-pledge, and all and singular other the præmises, with all their appurtenances, to Thomas Audeley, his heirs, for ever, to the proper use and benefit of Thomas Audeley himself, his heirs and assigns for ever, to hold them of us, our heirs and successors, in soccage, as of our manor of Costessey, in our said county of Norfolk, by fealty only, and not in capite, in lieu of all rents, services, and demands whatsoever therefore to us, our heirs and successors, in any way to be rendered, paid or done. We give also, for the consideration aforesaid, and of certain knowledge, and of our own free-will, by the advice aforesaid, by these presents, We grant to the aforesaid Thomas Audeley all and singular the outgoings, rents, revenues, and profits of all and singular the præmises, and of every parcel thereof, from the time when the aforesaid manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and præmises came, or ought to have come, into our hands, up to the present time due or accruing due: Also all and singular the goods, chattels, as well real as personal, implements, debts, and all sums of money whatsoever of the aforesaid late Robert Knyght, otherwise Kett, or to the same Robert before his attainder in any way due, belonging, or appertaining; and to us by reason or pretext of the attainder and conviction of the same Robert in any way due, belonging, or appertaining, or seised for our use, or being in our hands, as well within the said county of Norfolk, as elsewhere within our realm of England, wherever they may be or may be found, to be held by the same

inde parcellæ a tempore quo prædicta maneria, mesuagia, terræ, tenementa, &c. præmissa ad manus nostras devenerunt seu devenire debuerunt hucusque provenientia sive crescentia: Necnon omnia et singula bona, catalla, tam realia quam personalia, implementa, debita, et pecuniarum summas quascumque prædicti nuper Roberti Knyght alias Kett, aut eidem Roberto ante attincturam suam quoquo modo debita, spectantia, sive pertinentia; Ac nobis ratione et prætextu attincturæ et conviccionis ejusdem Roberti aliquo modo debita, spectantia, sive pertinentia, vel ad usum nostrum seisita seu in manibus nostris existentia tam infra dictum comitatum Norffolciensem quam alibi infra regnum nostrum Angliæ ubicumque sint seu inventa fuerint, habendum eidem Thomæ Audeley ex dono nostro absque compoto seu aliquo alio proinde nobis, heredibus, vel successoribus nostris aliquo modo reddendo, solvendo, vel faciendo; Ac etiam volumus pro consideratione prædictâ ac de avisamento prædicto per præsentem concedimus præfato Thomæ Audeley quod habeat et habebit has literas nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Angliæ debito modo factas et sigillatas absque fine seu feodo magno vel parvo nobis in hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad usum nostrum quoquo modo reddendo, solvendo, vel faciendo, eo quod expressa mentio, &c.

In cujus rei Teste Rege apud Westm. xvij die Maii [1550].

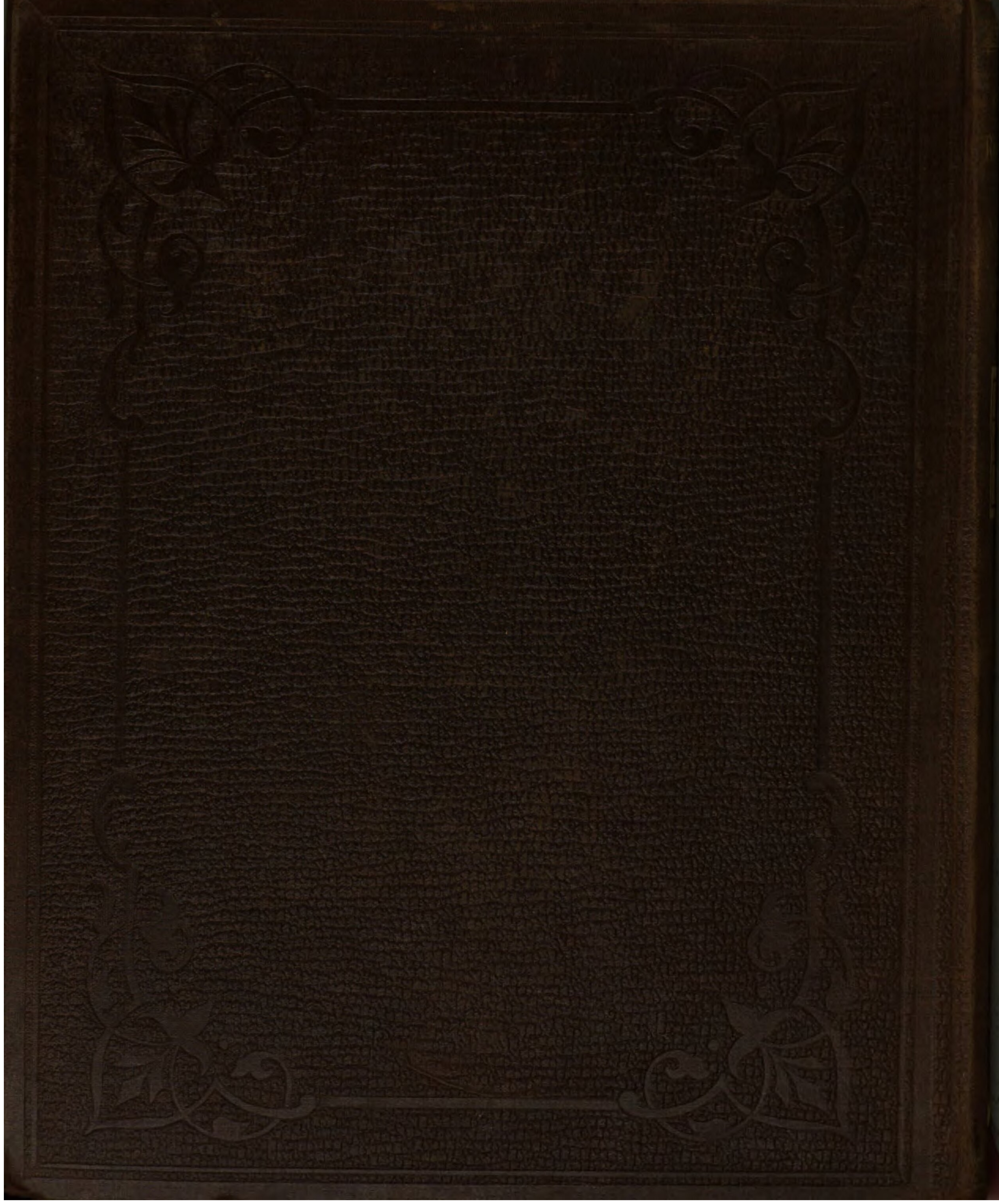
(Per breve de privato sigillo.)

Thomas Audeley of our gift, without any fine, or any other payment therefore to us, our heirs and successors, to be returned, paid, or made; And also we will, for the consideration aforesaid, and by the advice aforesaid, by these presents, We grant to the aforesaid Thomas Audeley that he have and shall have these our Letters Patent, under our Great Seal of England, in due form made and sealed, without fine or fee, great or small, to us, in our Hanaper, or elsewhere for our use, in any way to be returned, paid, or done, because express mention, &c.

In testimony whereof witness the King at Westminster, May 18th, [1550].

By writ of Privy Seal.

THE END.



Russell, Frederic William

Kett's rebellion in Norfolk; being a history of the great civil commotion
that occurred at the time of the reformation, in the reign of Edward VI
Founded on the 'Commoysen in Norfolk, 1549,' by Nicholas Sotherton, and
the 'De furoribus Norfolciensium' of Nevylle: and corroborated by extracts
from the privy council register; documents preserved in the state paper

London 1859

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